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The Week

THE danger of war in the Far East came appreciably nearer during the week ending September 29. Japan served an ultimatum upon China (though of course her officials did not use that word). A list of demands was made, the text of which is secret, and China was told to accept them or face war in the near future. It is believed that if these demands are accepted, effective sovereignty over all North China and perhaps the whole country will pass to Japan. . . . The long expected second devaluation of the French franc took place over the week-end, the reduction in gold value being roughly one-third. Great Britain and the United States are coöperating closely to maintain the values of all three currencies, although there are persistent reports that the British feel the pound is now overvalued by about 10 percent. The other members of the gold bloc have taken or are preparing to take steps to "readjust" their currencies in the light of the French action. . . . The war in Spain continued to go seriously against the government, the rebels following their victory at Maqueda by the capture of Toledo. The Spanish government prepared to offer evidence to the League Assembly at Geneva that they are fighting not only, or even primarily, the rebels, but Germany, Italy and Portugal (which is under British control) as well. . . . Lawrence Simpson, the American sailor who has already spent fifteen months in a German prison, was sentenced to serve an additional twenty-two months on the grounds of "treason." There is every reason to believe that the American protests regarding his case, which made Secretary Hull so angry, prevented a far more serious verdict.

GOVERNOR Landon, at the end of September, finished an extensive speaking tour as President Roosevelt prepared to start on a similar venture. Mr. Landon offered his farm program, which consists, in a nutshell, of subsidies for farmers plus unlimited production. Secretary Wallace promptly pointed out that with one or two years of good weather, such a plan would cause an insupportable drain on the Treasury of a billion dollars a year or more. In other speeches Governor Landon attacked the reciprocal tariff policy and the social-security law. He proposes, disregarding the experience of all other civilized countries, to leave social security to the individual states. . . . The size of the labor-spy business, the arsenals it accumulates and the low character of its private armies were set forth by a series of witnesses before the Senate Civil Liberties Committee. . . . Father Coughlin continued his vituperative attacks on President Roosevelt despite criticism from the Archbishop of Cincinnati and the threat of another and sharper rebuke from the Vatican. . . . The St. Louis Post Dispatch withdrew its support from President Roosevelt, on the states' rights issue. A news article in the same paper revealed the fact that the J. P. Morgan partners paid almost no income tax on their profits from that firm for the year 1935. . . . There was a mounting volume of protest over the action of Governor Lehman of New York for exonerating District Attorney Geoghan of Brooklyn in the notorious Drukman case. . . . The American Bankers' Association and the American Legion held their annual conventions; the bankers were markedly more friendly toward the New Deal than

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a year ago; the Legion, which put less spirit than usual into its customary set of Red-hunting resolutions, set machinery in motion looking toward ultimate full pensions.

BUSINESS and financial men who support Mr. Landon are hereby invited to explain to us what they make of his farm policy, as set forth in recent speeches. He will protect domestic crop prices with a high tariff, and will subsidize the farmers for their loss on exported surpluses, sold at lower world prices. This is the old McNary-Haugen scheme, valiantly opposed by Coolidge and Hoover. The catch in it is, of course, that without any means of crop restriction, high prices maintained by tariff and subsidy would so increase production that the exportable surplus would grow almost without limit, dumping would cause foreign complications, and the subsidy would eventually bankrupt the Treasury. But limitation of output is taboo in the Republican platform and by Mr. Landon himself. There is no honest explanation of this stand possible for an economic literate except that it is bait to catch the farmers' votes. Of course the farmers like the idea of raising as much as they like and selling it at high prices; they don't care very much whether the Treasury and the taxpayers suffer or not. But business is supporting Mr. Landon on the theory that he will balance the budget; either the business men or the farmers are being pulled around by the nose. Incidentally, we should like Mr. Landon to explain to us how and why farmers are injured by imports from Canada resulting from the reciprocal tariff treaty, when at the same time they are selling more than before both at home and abroad, because of the business improvement that this treaty helped to bring about.

THE Literary Digest presidential straw ballot, the most famous of them all, would seem so far to be one of the least indicative of the probable result. Of the 503,509 ballots reported on September 25, a majority were from people who voted for Hoover in 1932—in other words from a strongly conservative section of the population. This seems to be true in each state, except in the South, and consequently The Digest's figures—Landon, 293,972; Roosevelt, 185,495; Lemke, 19,632—are chiefly an indication of how the conservatives are voting. A recent sampling of public opinion by Fortune shows 59.2 percent for President Roosevelt and seems to indicate that the early summer trend away from him has stopped. Fortune also found that almost 70 percent of the people polled thought that Roosevelt would be reëlected, no matter how they personally were to vote. The most recent poll of the Institute of Public Opinion shows that the division between Roosevelt and Landon falls strikingly into age groups. The three younger groups, 21-24, 25-34 and 35-44, favor Roosevelt quite strongly, and the two elder groups, 45-54 and over 54, are for Landon, the latter very heavily. Dr. George Gallup, director of the Institute, points out that the three younger groups outnumber the elder by about 47,000,000 to 31,000,000, and that consequently Roosevelt is ahead. Lemke's vote, like Landon's, rises with age, and the reverse is true of Thomas.

MR. John D. M. Hamilton, the Bright Boy from Kansas, looks more boyish and less bright with every passing day of the campaign. His first major blunder came after Colonel Knox's famous speech at Allentown in which the Colonel declared that no savings-bank account, no life-insurance policy, is now safe. Mr. Hamilton promptly backed up that astonishing statement by saying that everyone knows it is true. Afterward it turned out that Colonel Knox referred only to the danger of inflation; he left Mr. Hamilton in the embarrassing position of having supported a piece of wild nonsense that everyone else repudiated, but Mr. Hamilton continued to sit out on his limb and pretend that he liked it. His second blunder was to follow the line of the Landon overlord, W. R. Hearst, and denounce the Democrats as a pack of Reds because a Roosevelt elector in New York State has helped raise funds for the Spanish Red Cross and the Spanish government is "communistic." It is perhaps lucky for Mr. Hamilton that Governor Landon's chance of winning seems to be getting smaller and smaller. If he were elected, and if the present government in Spain survives, we should see an American administration semi-officially pledged to hostility to a foreign power based upon an assumption regarding that power which every sensible person in the United States knows to be false.

READERS of this paper do not need to be told that Representative Vito Marcantonio, of New York City, has been an outstanding leader of the progressive group in Congress. He is a candidate for reëlection, and is meeting the bitter opposition both of the unscrupulous Tammany machine and of the Hearst-Liberty League gang. We take it for granted that those of our readers who live in his district will vote for him. Money is also urgently needed for campaign expenses. Donations in any size may be sent care of The New Republic, or to Dr. Henry Neumann, treasurer, the Non-Partisan Committee for the Reëlection of Vito Marcantonio, 1754 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

THE great unsolved mystery of the French devaluation remains Secretary Morgenthau's heroic defense of the British pound against an insidious attack by Those Wicked Russians. On September 26, before the devaluation was completed, the Russians offered for sale in the New York market £1,000,000 at the highest price available. Secretary Morgenthau promptly used one-quarter of one percent of the Treasury's $2,000,000,000 stabilization fund to buy these pounds, making a handsome profit on the transaction. He also called Washington journalists to a hasty conference and gave them a long

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and excessively heroic statement that he would not permit the dreadful Bolsheviks to drive down the value of the pound. Moscow promptly replied that it had no intention of driving down the pound, but was buying dollars in a normal routine to replace those just paid out in Stockholm. Since, however, the air was full of rumors that England wanted to cut another 50 cents off the value of the pound, and the United States was opposing this, it would have been no more than common sense for the Russians, or anyone else, to sell pounds in New York while waiting to see which way the cat would jump. In any case, the transaction was so small as to be trifling. A number of doubtless too-cynical commentators have suggested that Mr. Morgenthau's statement was an indirect answer to the Hearst-National Republican Committee nonsense about Communist support of the Democratic ticket. If it wasn't that, Mr. Morgenthau certainly owes the country an explanation as to what it was.

AT THE recent second annual conference of perfume and cosmetics buyers Mr. Frank Dalton Sullivan proposed that the convention urge the Federal Trade Commission to investigate consumer advisory organizations, which he described as having "all the earmarks of a racket." It is a little difficult to see how Mr. Sullivan figures that out, but of course it isn't difficult at all to see why he should be annoyed with the organizations that have done so much to disillusion the public about cosmetics. He said, too, that most women were pretty fair judges of what is good, and that they would rather take the advice of their grocer or druggist than that of "some self-appointed critic." Perhaps Mr. Sullivan is underestimating the intelligence of women, or perhaps he actually does take his gardener's advice as to his health in preference to his doctor's, his maiden aunt's advice as to his car in preference to a mechanic's, and so on. But of course if women didn't take the advice of these organizations there would be no reason for Mr. Sullivan to get excited. The consumer advisory organizations have nothing to lose by any investigation; it would just be a waste of money. But Mr. Sullivan says something else more to the point, that if all the allegations of these organizations have some real foundation he is surprised that the Federal Trade Commission has taken no notice of them. You've got something there, Mr. Sullivan.

OUR comments in a recent issue on the Olympic Games drew a long letter of protest from Nicholas S. Schloeder, who pointed out our error in saying that the United States led in the point score, since actually Germany led, not only in the score that included architecture and other non-athletic competitions, and not only in the number of medals won, but in the total point score of the athletic games. While we were incorrect to this extent, it is nevertheless true that the United States was far ahead in what, in this country, has always been considered the most important part of the games, the track and field events. Moreover, neither this criticism, nor Mr. Schloeder's other one, that we did not mention the injury of Gerhard Stoeck, whose expected presence in the decathlon was the occasion for much Nazi press ballyhoo, affects the truth of our main argument, that the Olympic Games were the occasion for Nazi propaganda. We are amply confirmed in this view by the report of the delegation sent to Berlin by the International Committee for the Preservation of the Olympic Ideal. For example, they report that, although the Olympic Code says that the Olympiad must seek "to establish a spirit of peace, unity and mutual understanding," frequent military parades, the expression of the racial theory of National Socialism in the stadium, various expositions of a nationalistic and warlike nature, and the listing, in the official manual, of a Czechoslovakian athlete as "a German from Sudetes, running at Berlin for Czechoslovakia," violated this provision. Moreover, at least three German Olympic athletes, Hendrick of the pentathlon, Schwartzmann the gymnast, and Gerhard Stoeck, who won the javelin throw, are professional athletic coaches, certainly not Olympic amateurs.

UNDER the provisions of a bill recently passed by the Mississippi Legislature and now awaiting signature by Governor Hugh White, counties and municipalities of the state are authorized to subsidize manufacturing enterprises. The bill lists fifty industries, ranging from textiles to automobile tires, as eligible for such aid and declares that communities may bond themselves up to 10 percent of their assessed valuation in order to build or acquire manufacturing plants. At first this looks like something suspiciously close to government ownership, not to mention more radical implications, but such fears are probably groundless. We note that the bill, while permitting plants to be run as community enterprises, also provides that they may be turned over to private operators as an inducement to move South. In brief, it seems that the bill is merely another expression of that hospitality toward industry for which the South is so noted. First it coaxed manufacturers with cheap labor, tax-free lands and by keeping its statute books virtually free of the labor and social legislation that the more progressive states of the North found desirable. Women and children could work nights. To these many attractions it now adds free plants.

THE advertising business is again trying to invade motion-picture theatres, on a nationwide scale. It is proposed that helpless movie audiences, who have paid good money for their admissions, shall be subjected to brief films extolling the merits of various commercial products. Among the advertisers who are now trying out the plan, according to Variety, are the makers of Carter's Little Liver Pills. A typical scenario, we are told, shows a wealthy man whose butler is serving him breakfast. He is dis-

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cussing, as he naturally would, the state of his wife's health with the servant. She has been depressed and moody lately. At that moment the lady of the house "enters, kicks the butler, skips cheerily out." She has been taking Carter's Little Liver Pills. Four or five years ago, a similar attempt to introduce national advertising in the high-priced motion-picture theatres in urban centers was attempted by Chesterfield cigarettes. We understand it was thwarted through the protests of indignant patrons, and we earnestly hope the same fate may meet the present attempt. We suggest to our readers that when they find advertising on the screen, they leave the theatre, demand their money back, and tell the manager why they are doing so. Otherwise, they may find that the screen will eventually be ruined for all intelligent adults as the radio has been.

THE article, "Compañero Sagasta Burns a Church," by Ralph Bates, advertised to appear in this issue of The New Republic, has been held over for later publication.

The Meaning of Devaluation

AT ONCE the most important and the most hopeful news that has come out of Europe for many weeks is that announcing the devaluation of the franc, on the basis of an understanding with the United States and Great Britain. In order to understand why this is so, we must review briefly what has happened and what its significance is.

What Action Has Been Taken?—The Blum government has reduced the value of the franc from 65.5 milligrams of gold to a figure between 43 and 49 milligrams, to be set by decree. This reduction of about one-third makes the franc worth approximately 5 cents instead of 6½ cents as recently. The currency is not to be convertible into gold; thus, though its gold value is anchored within limits, the full gold standard does not persist any more than it does in the United States and Great Britain. The control of foreign exchange has been centralized under the Bank of France, and an exchange-equalization fund has been set up. The United States and Great Britain, with their similar funds, have promised to coöperate with France in maintaining the new exchange value of French currency. Apparently there is still some difference between these two governments, in process of negotiation, as to the future relationship between the pound sterling and the dollar, Britain wanting a considerably lower value for the pound than at present.

The new French law attempts to guarantee against loss the more important of those groups that had feared devaluation, by providing for control of prices if the purchasing power of wages and salaries is threatened, and by granting to purchasers of recent public bond issues an additional return, if prices rise.

What Did France Have to Gain by Devaluation?—Whereas recovery has been proceeding markedly in Great Britain, the United States and other nations that had devalued their currencies, depression and deflation have persisted in France; they were one of the chief causes of unrest before the political victory of the People's Front and have remained so since.

For two reasons, closely related to each other, the absence of devaluation prolonged depression. One was that the high value of the franc, in relation to the important devalued currencies in the rest of the world, made it more costly for foreigners to buy goods from France or to travel there. This restricted exports and diminished production. At the same time, Frenchmen could buy cheaply from abroad; the resulting foreign competition with domestic industry brought about high tariffs and import quotas, which in their turn hampered trade. The other reason was that efforts to alleviate the situation through governmental spending, an easy credit policy, wage increases or other improvements of the conditions of labor would be severely handicapped as long as the franc was overvalued in terms of foreign exchange. Such measures would tend to increase costs and prices in France, thus further restricting the market for her products and increasing unemployment. Devaluation was thus necessary as a basis for an expansionist economic policy, as opposed to a deflationary one, such as had been followed by M. Blum's predecessors.

In view of this basic economic necessity, the suspicion that devaluation would have to come created a nervousness that prevented even normal and unstimulated recovery—if such a thing were otherwise possible. People feared to make future commitments. Repeated raids on the franc occurred on exchange markets. The stability of the Blum government and its measures were continually in question. Gold kept flowing out. At the end, there was still an enormous gold reserve, and fear of its depletion did not create an immediate crisis. But recovery and political amelioration were both impossible under such circumstances. Perhaps more important still, France's foreign policy became less effective because of recognition of her economic troubles. Hitler and Mussolini both calculated, without much question, on serious weakness from this source. Finally, the enormous French armament program, making a balance of the budget out of the question, gave the final blow to any lingering hopes of recovery by the deflationary route.

What Did France Have to Lose by Devaluation?—After the War, France previously experienced a relatively mild inflation and a devaluation, and did not relish the experience. She believed, both as a result of her own taste of it and as a result of observing the same phenomena in their more serious phases in Germany, that any reduction of the value of money, accompanied by an increase in prices, would wipe out or at least diminish the real

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incomes of those dependent on interest from investments, and would reduce the purchasing power of wages and salaries. The *rentier* class in France is large, politically powerful and strongly attached to the income from savings, small though their savings may individually be. And of course labor and the white-collar workers complain with equal bitterness of a high cost of living. In addition, banking authorities and economists in France have in the past clung tenaciously to financial orthodoxy.

It was therefore freely predicted that devaluation would upset any government which tried it, and might even result in riots and revolt from the Right. Fascists, it was feared, would use it to strengthen their ranks. Communists opposed it for this reason, and also to solidify their labor following.

Furthermore, unilateral devaluation by France would be no solution of her difficulties if it stimulated Great Britain or the United States to a competitive reduction of the values of their currencies. Inernational understanding was essential as a basis, and this for a long time seemed difficult to achieve.

Will the Gains Counterbalance the Losses?—The political curse seems to have been lifted from devaluation by two things: first, the support from England and the United States, a support that not only assures the immediate economic success of the maneuver, but also appears to symbolize something much more far-reaching and reassuring; second, by the promise to recompense at least bondholders for any losses that may be suffered.

There is also a good chance that the losses feared from higher internal prices need not be incurred, or at any rate may be minimized. Experience both in Britain and the United States indicates that, under depression conditions, devaluation is not followed by an immediate rise in prices commensurate with the fall in the gold value of the currency. The benefit is to be expected, not from this source, but from an increase in trade, production and employment at prices not substantially higher than before, or at least rising slowly. It is apparently the intention to seek business expansion rather than a sharp price rise.

From this point of view devaluation itself merely opens the gate for more telling action. If tariffs can be reduced and quotas lifted as a result, the tendency toward rising prices will be dampened and the volume of trade and production will be increased. This in turn will aid world recovery, from which all concerned will benefit. In addition, an easy credit policy may be effective in enlarging the volume of loans and activity without leading to price inflation. The hand of the French government is now freed to pursue an active recovery policy, as was Mr. Roosevelt's in 1933.

The International Aspects of the Decision.—Many subtle influences are sure to flow from this achievement, not obvious on the surface, but beneficial to world peace and sanity. In the first place, the prestige of the People's Front government in France, with its function of defending democracy and social progress, is immensely increased. It has a much better chance of giving progressively increasing satisfaction to the French people. It is moving forward in hearty coöperation with the governments of the other two great democracies. Also, a definite reversal has taken place in the aggravated tendency toward exclusive economic nationalism that accompanied the depression, a tendency which placed obstacles in the path of world recovery, which found its most extreme expression in the policies of the fascist dictatorships, and which must, if continued, lead to war. Again, the basic uncertainty caused by the simultaneous existence of a gold bloc and a sterling-dollar bloc has been removed. There is now a real chance of working toward exchange stability on a basis of intelligent management, and of building a new world community of trade on that foundation. The reactionary dictatorships are isolated, economically and in sentiment, more than they could have been by any series of political leagues or treaties. They have, for the first time in months, lost the initiative. If the democratic nations continue to grow economically stronger, the smaller nations that have been wavering may be attracted within their orbit, and the power to withstand fascist aggression, or perhaps even to prevent it, will be greatly augmented.

Mr. Waldo Frank's Letter

THE OPEN letter to Prime Minister Blum from Waldo Frank, printed in this issue of The New Republic, is an expression of deep emotion that is probably shared by millions in this and other countries. How can democrats stand by while the young Spanish republic is in danger of its life and world fascism threatens to gain another foothold? Mr. Frank knows, of course, that France adopted neutrality because of a fear of spreading the Spanish conflict to international war, but he also feels that a series of surrenders in cases of this kind can lead only to war in the end, and possibly to the defeat in that war of everything that the popular forces of the world hold dear. He believes that the risk must be taken, and that this is the time to make a stand. He also assumes—though whether his guess on this point can be sustained by facts it is difficult to say—that if France did adopt the bold course, Hitler and Mussolini would retreat and war would not now come.

This attitude is important, not because of any contribution it makes to statecraft, but because of the imponderables it represents. It is undoubtedly true that the fascist states gain prestige by their reckless initiative, while the forces they attack lose morale through continual retreat. Whatever the relative desirability of the two types of culture, suspicion is spreading that democracy and humane

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values must go under because they are less fit to survive. Something must be done to prove their survival value. For this purpose it is necessary to have realistic thinking, calculated policy, courage to take risks. Leadership and action must rally the forces.

We do not pretend to know what is the best course in this instance. We do know, however, that spurious neutrality, which permits the rebels to receive unlimited aid through Portugal, is disastrous from every point of view. We have believed from the first, and still see no reason to doubt, that if airplanes, aviators, supplies and munitions from abroad could be cut off from the rebels as well as from the loyalists, the latter would have the better chance, because they hold the principal manufacturing centers. Perhaps it is now too late to achieve a real neutrality. Immediate action by France and Great Britain, however, is imperative. Either they should make neutrality genuine at once, or they should abandon it and exercise their right to aid the Spanish government.

Looking at the Labor Spy

TACTICS used by large employers in industrial disputes are revealed in detail by the current hearings before the La Follette subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Education. This is the side the general public almost never hears about, the side that is effectively covered up by company secrecy, connivance with crooked officials and well oiled publicity machines. Now the curtain is lifted by a governmental inquiry, and the facts disclosed are so startling that even the most reactionary newspapers have been impelled to put them on their front pages. We let the record speak for itself, and herewith summarize some of the more important findings of the committee:

The misleadingly titled Railway Audit and Inspection Company, one of the largest strikebreaking agencies in the country, furnishes a regular labor-spy service and has investigated employees of such companies as Western Union, General Motors, Chase National Bank, Kelvinator, Bush Terminal, Consolidated Gas, National Dairy and others.

A spy is known as a "hooker" and he is "hooked into" the company's personnel to make friends with union workers and get information from them, and if possible to work himself into a position of responsibility in the union.

William H. Gray, known as Operative 423 and a veteran of twenty years' experience, said he had done investigations for the New York Central, Pennsylvania, Louisville and Nashville, Atlantic Coast Line and various traction, textile and utility interests. W. A. Hemphill, Operative 3550, testified he had recently been hired to investigate organizers for the C.I.O., officials of the A.F. of L. and investigators for the National Labor Relations Board.

In the Cleveland milk strike of 1921 armed "guards" (strikebreakers) daubed red paint on the home of a company official to stir up prejudice against the strikers. In the same strike, the hired strikebreakers deliberately incited violence to scare company officials into hiring more of their own number.

E. J. McDade testified that in strikebreaking activities at a Milwaukee power plant in 1934 the company "furnished 700 men with pickaxe handles and used steam hose connected with boilers to turn live steam on pickets." In the Pittsburgh National Dairy strike of 1935, said McDade, the guards were ordered to "slug" pickets.

Evidence was introduced to show that strikebreakers included a high percentage of known criminals, with arrests for offenses ranging from parole violation to suspicion of homicide.

Strikebreakers imported to run the street cars of New Orleans in the 1935 strike kept all the fares collected—the company getting no revenue and paying them high wages in addition. The "finks," or working strikebreakers, who acted as conductors and motormen, had to split the "take" three ways. They got one-third, the "nobles," or strong-arm guards, got one-third, and the remaining third went to the bosses and higher-ups in the agency.

The National Corporations Service and the Allied Corporations Service were listed as strikebreaking agencies one of whose specialties was the forming of company unions and the supplying of ready-made by-laws for such unions.

A gigantic plan, admitted by the Anthracite Institute and defended by its attorney, Walter Gordon Merritt, was disclosed whereby the anthracite operators recently purchased more than $15,000 worth of tear gas and nauseous gas with the express purpose of dumping it in the so-called "bootleg" mines and thus driving out the miners in them. The plan was deferred when some operators became squeamish over possible loss of life resulting from these tactics.

The Lake Erie Chemical Company and the Manville Manufacturing Company were named as chief sources of poison gas for use in industrial disputes. Testimony was offered to show that gas salesmen often worked hand in hand with public officials, police and the National Guard in demonstrating and firing poison-gas projectiles and that during the San Francisco general strike shipowners authorized one company to supply all the gas bombs the city police needed, the shipowners offering to foot the bill, if necessary.

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and only temporary consolation in one another.

It has become the fashion to say that the world is now confronted by a choice between liberty and security, that we must face a dictatorship of the Right or the Left. This is untrue for at least two reasons. First, most men are never permitted any choice. Second, the dictum itself is false. There is no liberty without security. If a collectivized society ever gets a chance to come to full fruition among a civilized and well endowed population, we shall see that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" will mean the dictatorship of the entire population, which is of course no dictatorship at all. In a way it is the greatest of our tragedies that in the turmoil of a sick world, ridden by a sense of impending disaster, we should so completely have lost sight of these simple ultimate objectives of all mankind; that with machines waiting now to put an end forever to starvation, we should face the prospect of starvation on a scale not known to the Western world for a thousand years. The earthquake is coming, men say; nothing can be done about it. If only the unhappy wretches could be made to see that their earthquake is no natural phenomenon; that like blind Samson, they destroy their own house.

BRUCE BLIVEN.

Five Pages from Newton D. Baker

TWO MAJOR theses respecting America's entrance into the World War are being persistently advocated before the American public. The first thesis is that bankers and munition makers caused America's entrance into the War. This proposition is advanced by some communists, pacifists, and economic determinists given to oversimplification. The second thesis is that bankers and munition makers merely followed the policy of the Wilson administration, did not secretly influence it and really had nothing to do with getting the country into the War. This, for short, may be called the Morgan thesis (see news story headed "Morgan Data Dispute Nye on War Cause," New York Herald Tribune, May 2, 1936).

In an article of eighty-six pages, in Foreign Affairs for October, 1936, Mr. Newton D. Baker supports the Morgan thesis under the head, "Why We Went to War." He seeks to refute the charge "that bankers and munition makers asserted [exerted?] some sort of pressure upon the government which affected its policy and ultimately led to our entering the War in 1917."

I propose to examine five pages out of Mr. Baker's eighty-six—five pages that bear upon the Morgan thesis. The other eighty-one pages may be reserved for detailed consideration later.

Mr. Baker says: "The record of the bankers on this subject is relatively simple." Then he gives his version of the record. Bryan put a ban on loans to belligerents. "Messrs. Morgan and Company," Mr. Baker states, "complied with the wish implicit in Secretary Bryan's telegram, but by October, 1914, the State Department had more or less retreated to a strictly legal position and small loans were made to both France and Germany. This modification of policy proceeded from a statement of the President to Mr. Lansing that in his view there was a difference" between bank credits and the flotation of a public loan. "So far as the conduct of American bankers in this matter is concerned," Mr. Baker continues, "the record so far as I know indicates complete compliance on their part with the policies laid down by the State Department. Whatever shift took place on the subject was in official opinion and the reasons for it are not far to seek." Then Mr. Baker quotes Mr. Lansing's letter of September 6, 1915, arguing that shutting down on loans would mean an economic smash in the United States.

From the facts Mr. Baker selects and interprets, he arrives at this conclusion: "That some of the bankers were personally pro-Ally in their sentiments is obviously true. That some very important international bankers in the United States were pro-German in their sentiment is equally true. That the sentiments of either group had the slightest effect upon President Wilson, if they were even communicated to him, is so fanciful and improbable as to pass the bounds of belief, and as it was Mr. Wilson who determined the national policy, there is no case unless it can be shown that he was influenced by such pressure. Those who knew Mr. Wilson, and particularly those who realized his state of mind as the result of the opposition of the bankers to the Federal Reserve Act, will not be disposed to believe that he was predisposed in favor of any view of national financial policy they were likely to entertain."

Now let us look at the facts (disclosed by the Nye papers) which Mr. Baker either is not acquainted with or chooses to ignore.

1. The Morgan Company did comply with the Bryan ban on loans to belligerents, laid down August 15, 1914—at the moment.

BUT within a short time, representatives of the National City Bank, associated with the Morgan Company in a project for a French loan, entered into communication with Secretary Bryan, at first apparently through the agency of the French Ambassador, M. Jusserand. And Mr. Bryan eased his ban on short-term credits. (See my letter in The New Republic, June 17, 1936.) On Mr. Bryan's request there was no public advertisement of the issue of French treasury bonds.

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October 23, 1914, a representative of the National City Bank, associated with the Morgan Company in making loans to Allied belligerents, again took up the Bryan ban—this time with Counselor Lansing. Mr. Lansing took up the matter with President Wilson at 8:30 P.M. that day. President Wilson then approved easing the Bryan ban on credits, and authorized Mr. Lansing to give "impressions" on his own authority "to such persons as were entitled to hear them." The information was soon given to representatives of the Morgan Company and the National City Bank in private conversations. (Documents from Nye reports in my "Devil Theory of War," pp. 44-54.)

2. Initiative for the second shift in Wilson policy, namely, lifting the Bryan ban on regular loans to belligerents, came from bankers' quarters. James B. Forgan, president of the Chicago First National Bank, put the matter of abandoning the rest of the Bryan ban up to F. A. Delano, vice-governor of the Federal Reserve Board, on August 17, 1915. Mr. Forgan's letter reached Secretary Lansing. Mr. Lansing put the banker's request up to President Wilson. August 26, 1915, President Wilson replied that the government would take no action "either for or against such a transaction," namely, the flotation of a big loan for the British government. President Wilson told Mr. Lansing that this information "should be conveyed orally . . . and not put in writing." Such are facts entering into the second shift of Wilson policy on loans to belligerents. (Documents from Nye reports in my "Devil Theory of War," pp. 59-88.)

What conclusions bearing on Mr. Baker's thesis must be drawn from these facts? (1) Bankers did comply at the moment with the Bryan ban. (2) Bankers soon urged the State Department to lift the Bryan ban on credits. (3) The request of bankers for a change in policy were "even communicated" to President Wilson. (4) President Wilson privately approved lifting the ban on credits, and this information was privately conveyed to representatives of the Morgan Company and the National City Bank. (5) A banker represented to the Wilson administration that a large British loan was a "business necessity." (6) This representation (or "sentiment") was conveyed to the President by Secretary Lansing. (7) The President shifted the policy on loans, as distinguished from credits; and this information was orally conveyed to bankers.

Collateral to the Morgan thesis, if not an official part of it, is the simplified theory that the renewal of the submarine war by Germany was "the cause" of our entrance into the War, in defense of American lives and rights. Mr. Baker is sensitive on this point, and confesses that he may have "to some extent confused the occasion with the cause." But he does lend something that looks like support to this theory of "the cause" (p. 85).

Well, on this point, we have the testimony of President Wilson after the War. It is from the files of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

> Senator McCumber: Do you think that if Germany had committed no act of war or no act of injustice against our citizens we would have gotten into the War?
>
> President Wilson: I think so.
>
> Senator McCumber: You think that we would have gotten in anyway?
>
> President Wilson: I do.

With all due respect for Mr. Baker's high talents and distinguished public services, I feel bound to accept President Wilson's statement rather than Mr. Baker's interpretation of President Wilson's thought. Surely in the light of that statement one should be careful about assuming that Germany's submarine warfare against American shipping and lives was "the cause" of America's entrance into the War. Can we, in knowledge, assume that it was more than one among many circumstances that inclined President Wilson's mind to war? In my opinion, we cannot.

Hence, in my judgment, Mr. Baker's thesis as to the bankers and the Wilson administration falls crashing to earth. The requests of bankers were positively and clearly conveyed to President Wilson, as well as to Mr. Bryan and Mr. Lansing. Was President Wilson "influenced by some such pressure"? It seems reasonable to assume that he was. If he was not, then why did he at once approve the "sentiments" of bankers, which were certainly conveyed to him? If, as Mr. Baker suggests, these sentiments did not have "the slightest effect upon President Wilson," why did he twice accept the requests of bankers for shifts in policy?

In any case, Mr. Baker's statement that the "modification of policy" in 1914, "proceeded from a statement of the President to Mr. Lansing" must be read in the light of the fact that bankers initiated the movement for this modification and President Wilson, knowing this, approved it.

Writing history is a dangerous trade, and anyone who undertakes it must bring relevant facts into the story, if loyalty to truth is his profession. Submitted to your judgment: The Morgan thesis respecting the bankers and the War, which Mr. Baker supports, is untenable in the light of indubitable facts. It is as much a perversion of history as the oversimplified communist and economic-determinist thesis. Both are inadequate for those who believe that truth is important in human affairs.

Submitted to your judgment: Bankers requested the Wilson administration to lift the Bryan ban on credits and loans; shortly after receiving these requests, President Wilson acceded to them—in 1914 and in 1915; by extending credits and floating loans, bankers facilitated transactions that enlisted powerful economic interests on the side of the Entente Allies and entangled the United States in the war fate of those Allies; these facts must be taken into account by anybody who wants to get at the truth of why we went to war, as distinguished from a partial view of the matter.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

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How They Are Voting: II

THE EDITORS of The New Repblic wrote a short time ago to ninety-seven well known Americans who have in general taken a progressive political position, asking them for whom they would vote in this year's national election. We published a group of their replies in the issue of September 30, and a second instalment appears below. The letters of those who asked that their replies be held confidential are omitted, although they are included in the tabulation.

Of the first fifty-six replies received, forty-four were for Roosevelt, eight for Thomas, three for Browder, one for Landon and none for Lemke.

This week's group of letters includes contributions from Elmer Davis, Theodore Dreiser and Fannie Hurst, authors; John Dewey and William Kilpatrick, of Columbia University; Lloyd K. Garrison and Harold Groves of the University of Wisconsin; Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; Morris Ernst, New York attorney; Sidney Hook, of New York University; Rockwell Kent, artist and author; Frank C. Hanighen, free-lance journalist, and Bruno Lasker, associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations.

I'm going to vote for Roosevelt—and so would you if you were compassed about by so great a cloud of Republicans as I am this summer, and had to listen to them at every cocktail party. Beyond that, however, I think there is some faint hope that Roosevelt may do something; and no hope at all in the Mystery Man from Kansas and his far from mysterious supporters.

Why not Thomas? Because the primary need is to prevent a Republican victory. ELMER DAVIS.

I intend to vote for Norman Thomas for President. It was a disappointment that no genuine mass third party was organized, especially in view of the fact that the so-called Union Party is a union of inflationists and semi-fascist elements. I realize that fear of reactionary Republicanism will lead many to vote for Roosevelt who have no faith in the Democratic Party; but I do not believe that the actual difference between the policies of the old parties will be great, whoever is elected. I think the Republican Party is conducting a campaign under false pretenses.

JOHN DEWEY.

I am for Roosevelt. It is with the more liberal and radical parties that my real sympathies lie, but just now I feel that they are so mismanaged that I cannot support them. Besides this, I do feel that at this election there is such a great difference between the main candidates, a difference which is so overwhelmingly in favor of Roosevelt, that it seems of major importance to me that he be elected.

My reasons for this, in general, are two: first, that I think his policies are more in line with the future organization of life than those of any President we have had in years; second, that I think the foreign relations of this country will need increasingly able handling during the next years, and I think that Roosevelt will be able to do that, whereas I doubt whether Landon has either the experience or the ability for it.

Incidentally, the selection of Landon for President reminds me of the Prætorian Guard electing an emperor.

THEODORE DREISER.

I am for Roosevelt and Lewis. MORRIS L. ERNST.

I intend to vote for Roosevelt, but to compress my reasons into a few lines, as you have asked me to do, is beyond me. LLOYD K. GARRISON.

In answer to your inquiry, I am glad to say that I shall vote for the reëlection of President Roosevelt.

FRANK P. GRAHAM.

I voted for Norman Thomas four years ago but this year I shall vote for Roosevelt. I have no love at all for the Democratic Party and mixed feelings toward Roosevelt. But the immediate issues are too important and the preference between old-line party candidates too marked to risk experimentation at the polls in 1936. Another four years of friendly environment may do much to strengthen the labor and coöperative movements in the United States. They will be important recruiting grounds for the new party which eventually must be built. It is the right time to lay bricks in the new-party structure and to make plans for an active and consistent building program from now on. The building should be ready for dedication in 1940.

HAROLD M. GROVES.

I'm going to vote for Roosevelt, because I believe that his election will provide the best chance of preventing the formation of a fascist set-up in this country. Of course, I realize that it's just a chance and that the President's performance in the next four years might well make my little affirmation look ridiculous. However, I do think that anti-fascist forces will enjoy a better break under him.

FRANK C. HANIGHEN.

I am going to vote for Norman Thomas in November. Norman Thomas is the only candidate with an unambiguous platform in behalf of peace and socialism. There is less difference today between Roosevelt and Landon than there was between Wilson and Hughes in 1916. Those who supported Wilson as the lesser evil, learned to their cost that on all *basic* issues the Republican and Democratic Parties represent the interests of the same class, and can be counted upon to do the same things in any crucial situation. The Socialist Party today by championing a program of socialism in our times is getting to the root of the major economic and social evils of American society and offering the only alternative to fascism. Our choice is not between capitalist democracy and fascism but between "capitalism

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which will develop into fascism tomorrow and democratic socialism." SIDNEY HOOK.

I belong to no political party. I shop about each voting year, and climb aboard whatever party lugger seems to me most seaworthy. Alas, it is usually a matter of accepting the least leaky.

This November I shall vote for Mr. Roosevelt. I have confidence in his ideals and his ideas. I feel that he is looking up the right streets. He has not always been able to find his way into them, but it seems to me that his social consciousness is responsible for a new and important trend in American psychology.

I think that the so-called moneyed classes, in refuting Mr. Roosevelt because their pocket nerve is twitching, have neither the vision nor the wisdom to see that in his course lies their ultimate salvation.

My present hope is that our social, industrial and economic dilemmas can be corrected within the framework of democracy. The Roosevelt administration is working well within that framework. FANNIE HURST.

I shall vote for Browder in November, and for several reasons: among them being that I think it's high time, with America and the world in their present state, that people declare their principles with the ballot. And I happen both to want communism and to believe in its coming whether I want it or not. Certainly it is high time there was a genuine labor party in the field. The Communists are now pledged to that principle of the united front which is essential to the success of a labor party.

ROCKWELL KENT.

I propose to vote for Roosevelt on the primary issue that the country needs most of all to remake its economic thinking and so, as rapidly as feasible, its economic practice. Roosevelt seems to be leading the American people along this road about as fast as it were wise to try, though for me a surer aim and faster rate would be more pleasing. Landon, if he could follow his own conscience, might conceivably go—only more slowly—in a similar direction, but as led by his principal backers he now appears willfully blind to economic actualities. His election could only mean hurtful reaction. As for Thomas, if a vote for him helps Landon, it is worse than thrown away. The same and more for Lemke and Browder.

WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK.

As a socialist without party affiliation, I have often voted for non-Socialist candidates whose humanitarian or liberal policies, with a chance of being translated into law, seemed to me to help in laying the foundation for a socialist commonwealth. In the present situation, even if the re-election of President Roosevelt and Governor Lehman were less probable, it seems to me of much greater importance to help, in however small and ineffective a way, in the creation of a strong socialist and labor movement. The slow growth in socialist sentiment and understanding must immediately be reinforced with local and national political activity to meet the anti-democratic forces which have gained so much strength of late. For these reasons, I shall vote for Norman Thomas and, probably, for most of the other Socialist candidates. BRUNO LASKER.

Scrappy Days Are Here Again

ON A CHILL September morn the door of Durkin's tobacco shop and misinformation bureau opened to admit J. T. Riland, local journalist and pillar of G.O.P. society. The old fourth estatesman was in a merry, expansive mood and he tossed out fifteen cents as if money grew on trees.

"How," he asked, "did you like that performance of 'Way Down East'?"

"Maine went Republican," said Elmer, handing out fodder for the editorial pipe. "So what?"

"Nothing, heh! heh! heh!" The playful publisher chuckled. "Nothing at all. Only you didn't talk like that four years ago. Made quite an exhibition of yourself, if I remember right."

"An old ink hound like you ought to know the answer to that one. In Maine when the G.O.P. bites the dust, it's news. Otherwise it's just ho-hum. By the way, J.T., what happened to that two-to-one sweep the predictators fixed up for us? Did Landon's visit put the snoozer on that? Or did the Liberty League dough go sour?"

But the lively veteran refused to stoop to petty details. His party had at last carried a state, the backbone of the Democratic winter was broken, the tide had turned and clouds were now wearing silver linings.

"The Maine victory was not overwhelming but it was much better than a poke in the eye."

"It was, at that," the newsdealer conceded. "You are entitled to a couple of gloats. The G.O.P. is back in the majors again. The election is not the soft touch it listened like a while back. The straw voters are slipping the Topeeker a nice edge, especially in the burgs that draw small type on the map. I'd say the Abundant Lifers have the situation under control, but when Farley claims the thing is in the bag, he's murmuring through his sombrero. This game might even be tight enough to keep the customers awake right up to the last out." Animation shone upon Elmer's pleasure-loving face. "Scrappy days are here again."

Mr. Riland shook hands with himself in a cordial way.

"Yes, sir, our chances look much better."

"There's a catch in it, though. I look much better in my spiffy fall bonnet but not enough to make girls leave home. I mean F.D. will slump plenty but he has lots of room to slump in. He opens with a nice wad of electoral votes in the bank. The dope sheets show that he has Dixie all solid right up to the beautiful Ohio and ditto the Pacific fringe and most of the mountain country where the silverites grow wild. This block is close to untouchable and it leaves him a deficit of only thirty-seven. Grant that New England is safe in the arms of Alfred, he'd still have to snag all the close ones and hang a row of horse collars on Franklin from Albany to Denver. Most of these states went New Dealish only two years ago and the capitol desks are

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full of crude Democratic feet. Is that a tough assignment for a bush-league statesman! No wonder the pro gamblers like him to place but not to win.

"Your little sunflower is in a spot where he has to have New York to cop. The Skipper could get by without it, as Wilson did in '16, but that would be the hardest way. If it's a blanket finish, it might melt down to how much bad news the G.O.P. can bring down to the Bronnix.

"And speaking of barometers," Elmer interrupted himself, "cast your bleary old orbs on Maryland. There's a slab of geography that always turns up on the long end; I don't think it ever pulled a bad guess. The Baltimore Sunpapers are annoying the population with a poll and the Free Staters are splitting the gross about sixty-forty. F.D. draws a juicy profit with both the hicks and the city slickers. With Maryland as a tip-off the Frankie and Johnny ticket can't lose."

"If the election were held tomorrow," said Riland, the old phrase-coiner, "Roosevelt would win, but there is a definite swing toward the Governor. Of course time is pretty short to clarify the issues."

The word "issues" aroused Elmeric laughter.

"They're certainly not clear to one constant reader and tuner-inner. I've put myself through a stiff skull practice, but this thing has got me down. Landon pans the Franklinstein monster over nationwide networks, but it turns out that these horrible things would be okay if run by Americans instead of Democrats. Somebody pulls this crop-insurance rabbit out of a hat; nobody understands it so both sides claim they invented it. Landon says that government should not deal itself cards; just be a kibitzer and umpire. Herbert Hoover stubbed his toe on that one.

"As far as I can remember, the Kawboy has gone to the mat with our venerable Prexy on just two topics. He's agin reciprocity treaties and the tax on corporation surpluses. Where does the future of American civilization hang on these things?

"The contenders in the main bout act like a couple of guys who have been pinched. Anything they say will be held against them. So Landon is running on the flag and Roosevelt on the Bible.

"Frank Knox, the one-man gas-house gang, utters words freely and has to eat some of them, but that all runs for Sweeney because nobody cares what a V.P. nominee thinks, or if. Some stumpers say the issue is the Supreme Court and some say it's lamb chops. Other patriots claim we pick them by color. Roosevelt has a weakness for red and Landon dotes on the yellow of sunflowers and Hearstpapers."

Mention of the notorious publisher reminded our editor that it was time to go to the shop and edit.

"I will now spoil some copy paper about our glorious victory in Maine."

"Make whoopeee while you can, J.T.," said Elmer. "The Landon person is running into sour weather. Al Smith and Herb Hoover are coming to the aid of the party."

FELIX RAY.

Washington Notes

Roosevelt's Business Conference—A Southeast Power Pool—But Yet the Boys Aren't Friends—And Some Exceptions

AS THIS is written, Mr. Roosevelt is in the midst of discussions with a group of public-utility overlords; two weeks ago he conferred with the heads of several great life-insurance companies. On the basis of these two happenings, many correspondents are predicting that the administration will offer not merely a breathing spell, but permanent peace, to big business before the campaign is over. If the offer is not made publicly, at least private assurances will be made.

Talk of this kind might be disregarded except for the fact that it has the seeming approval of Mr. Roosevelt. At the time of the life-insurance meeting, Mr. Roosevelt is reported to have informed newspaper correspondents that he was in constant touch with the leaders of many industries, and expected to have many talks with them before election day. It is also reported that Mr. Roosevelt spoke in a tone of satisfaction, which convinced a number of his hearers that an arrangement with big business was near.

In the past, Mr. Roosevelt has frequently shifted from left to right, one week standing up boldly for the interests of workers and small farmers, and the next week surrendering unnecessarily, even cheerfully, to the threats of big business. In the present instance, however, his semblance of amity towards big business is almost certainly an election stunt, designed to quiet the nerves of middle-class voters who believe he has illicit relations with the Kremlin. There is no evidence to show that it betokens surrender of any kind. Except for Mr. Bryan in 1896 and 1908, probably no presidential candidate since the Civil War has had so few obligations to big business as Mr. Roosevelt has in the current campaign.

The White House meeting of insurance heads seems to have been called as a means of offsetting accusations that the New Deal social-security program threatens the policyholders and private companies. Only incidentally was it used to reply to Colonel Knox's moth-eaten warnings of future inflation. What the Democrats really feared was the semi-secret campaign that is allegedly being carried on by a minority of life-insurance officials. The character of this campaign is illustrated by a statement issued a few days ago by the board of trustees of the National Association of Life Underwriters: "Not for a long while has anything come out of Washington which has had such an unsettling effect on the institution of life insurance as this program (the existing social-security act)." This particular statement was accompanied by the cool demand that Mr. Roosevelt take a life-insurance executive into his administration with the sole duty of seeing that the Social Security Board does nothing that might conceivably infringe on the business and income of private companies.

For months the administration had worried over the effect of such vaguely ominous pronouncements as this on the holders of our 63,000,000 policies. At the White House conference, with full control of the publicity, Mr.

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Roosevelt was able to exhibit himself against a backdrop of mute insurance executives as the policy-holder's best friend. It was almost as good a trick as broadcasting at the same moment as Mr. Al Smith's first radio speech. But Mr. Roosevelt made no pledges whatever to the assembled insurance heads, and probably most of them will vote against him next November.

In the same way, Mr. Roosevelt's conference with the public-utility officials implies no truce with the power industry. The existing contract of the Commonwealth and Southern to purchase power from the T.V.A. expires November 1. Partly because of the steady development of the Tennessee Valley area that the T.V.A. has brought about, the Commonwealth and Southern's constituent companies are now selling more power than they can readily generate with their own facilities. Unless the Commonwealth and Southern obtains a fresh contract with the T.V.A., it must construct additional plant, and it apparently is anxious to avoid borrowing new money until its existing obligations have been refunded. For about two years, Director Lilienthal of the T.V.A. has been eager to establish a Southeastern power pool, modeled on the British grid. The present moment, when the Commonwealth and Southern is seeking favors from the government, seems like an excellent time to press for the grid's adoption.

These Notes are being written before the final decisions of the conference at the White House are known. Observers predict, however, that the utility executives will agree to the proposed Southeastern pool, and that ultimately other pools will be established in each of the great power areas of the country. However, an agreement on pooling will do almost nothing to lessen the fundamental hostility between the administration and the industry. Observers foresee little hope of an understanding on the crucial problem of retail distribution, and the fixing of retail rates. The power companies have brought a large number of suits against the "yardstick" municipal plants fostered by the T.V.A., and will certainly not surrender until the Supreme Court has spoken. Nor are they likely to give in on the issue of the death-sentence clause of the holding-company act.

Mr. Roosevelt has the support of the General Electric and the many corporations associated with it, such as Radio Corporation of America and National Broadcasting. This is unquestionably an important segment of industry. But the General Electric executives have played an important part in the affairs of the Democratic Party for a generation, and there is a widespread suspicion that they are now merely preserving their party franchise. Beyond the General Electric group, the business men known to be supporting Mr. Roosevelt fall into two broad categories. The first contains those who like the power, publicity and chance to turn a semi-honest dollar that comes from being associated with an incumbent President. Mr. Jesse H. Jones, for example, has hugely enjoyed being head of the R.F.C.; Mr. Joseph E. Kennedy had the time of his life running the S.E.C. Mr. Joseph E. Davies, now husband-in-law of General Foods and reputedly one of the heaviest contributors to the Democratic campaign, is eyeing an ambassadorship.

The second and more interesting category contains the wild mustangs among big-business men. Mr. Edward A. Filene is a good example; for years he has argued, with great plausibility, that all business men except himself are dimwits. The fact that other business men hate Mr. Roosevelt makes Mr. Filene cherish him. Another example is Mr. Walter Chrysler, who has taken a relatively statesmanlike attitude towards the United Auto Workers and the C.I.O., and who disapproves of the labor policy of General Motors and Ford. Still other examples are Mr. Thomas J. Watson of International Business Machines, the highest-paid executive in the country, and Mr. James D. Mooney, president of the General Motors Export Corporation, a brilliant student of international trade problems. All of these men are exceptional, and their support of Mr. Roosevelt cannot be taken to mean that big business is slackening its hostility.

Washington. T.R.B.

Other People's Money

Self-Rule in Industry Won't Work—Mr. Smith Returns to the Bankers—Are the Liberals Satisfied with Words?

SOME WEEKS ago I reviewed a book called "The Commonwealth of Industry," by Mr. Benjamin A. Javits. Now Mr. Javits, on page 255 of this issue, complains about several points in my criticisms. I have no space to take them up here. I merely refer the reader sufficiently interested to my review, Mr. Javits' complaint and his book.

Mr. Javits has a cute little plan for separating industry and the state, in the same way that we have separated Church and State. He thinks that industry is entitled to set up a sovereign commonwealth of its own in which it will rule itself. This, I say, is the most dangerous idea that has appeared in our political life since the Civil War. It is built upon the notion that the employers in an industry should be endowed with the power to rule the economic life of that section of society covered by their industry and that this rule by employers would be self-rule of industry. Of course that is nonsense.

He objects to my description of his plan and insists that labor and consumers would have a say. But they would have a hand as they did in the formation of the N.R.A. codes, save that the codes would be submitted to a court of law instead of the N.R.A. And we know what courts of law are. The codes would be framed by the employers' associations, submitted to the courts or such other tribunals as might be set up, and thereafter would be administered not by employers, workers and consumers, but by employers' associations.

Now I am not going to argue this point further. Anybody who thinks this is self-rule is entitled to his delusion, but he must be fond of delusions. I noticed the book merely because I believe this "self-rule in industry" cult is the most menacing force that confronts us. It is not new. But it became an almost irresistible force the moment a Democratic, "liberal" President embraced it and made it the great policy of his administration. The N.R.A. is dead. But the idea will go marching on, strengthened by the benediction Roosevelt gave it.

Mr. Javits said I tried to identify his views with those

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of Hoover, Long, Coolidge—"and when have the ideas of these gentlemen tallied with each other?"—and he makes certain other unimportant complaints against my review. His complaints I think are completely unfounded, but they are unimportant. The important thing is that his book is an attempt to revive this poisonous idea of "self-rule in industry." As long as that is understood, it is all that is necessary.

The American Bankers' Association has just named Mr. Tom K. Smith as its president. I wonder if this name suggests anything to readers. I am sure it does not. Mr. Smith has been forgotten along with almost all of the strange performances of those first two years of Roosevelt which liberals and progressives now choose to forget. Tom Smith was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. When the great Roosevelt revolution started, the great proletarian revolutionist named William Woodin as Secretary of the Treasury. I voted for Roosevelt, but that appointment was the first incident to bring me up with a little jerk. After all, the nation was in the most serious financial straits in its history. In times of depression the most important Cabinet post is that of the finance minister. The history of France before the revolution is almost invariably chaptered off into the regimes of its finance ministers. It was a shock, therefore, to me to find the President naming this back-slapping little guitar-player and corporation executive as Secretary of the Treasury. But there was another objection to him. He was chairman of the board of a corporation closely allied with the Morgan interests, and this was dramatically illustrated a few months after his appointment by the exposure of his name on the now famous Morgan preferred lists. Woodin named as his Under-Secretary of the Treasury Dean Acheson, member of a Washington law firm devoted to representing large Wall Street interests. The Assistant Secretary was Tom K. Smith, then in line for president of the Bankers' Association. Here was a brace of finance secretaries for a liberal and progressive administration enough to open the eyes of Mr. Roosevelt's deluded liberal supporters.

In 1934 the securities and exchange bill was introduced with a ringing message from the President. That pleased all the liberal enemies of Wall Street. But immediately the group that had framed the bill and was entrusted with its management was directed by the President to confer with representatives of the Treasury. The Treasury's representative was Tom K. Smith of the American Bankers' Association. Mr. Smith went to work on that bill and most of the dental work on the bill was done by him with the backing of the President. But it was all done behind closed doors, through which the public, who heard the brave speech, could not see. The ineffectual character of the bill as finally passed was due largely to this intervention. Now Mr. Smith heads the bankers, which is where he belongs. But you wonder what he was doing in the Roosevelt revolution.

The liberals seem to have forgotten it now, but in those days the President was wooing the big-business leaders on every front. He permitted them to modify his policies, to entangle him in the N.R.A., which seriously diverted the energies of the administration in those crucial early years. It was not until business turned on him—as he might have known it would do—because he would not give it the entire loaf, that he began to assume the role of the great warrior against the plutocrats and to talk of taxation and holding companies. But the talk of taxation has petered out already and nothing has been done about holding companies, save utility holding companies and, of course, nothing has been done about them as yet either—or will be. The liberals who are supporting Mr. Roosevelt are revealing the liberals' old weakness—they can be satisfied with words. And that, I am convinced, is all they will get.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

The Bandwagon

Trotsky's true Jewish name is Bronstein. He is beyond question the most brilliant and capable leader of the revolutionary movement in the world, regardless that he is aging. Under the guise of being estranged from the leaders in Moscow, he is allowed to travel from country to country, fomenting trouble.—*From an article in Defender Magazine.*

District Attorney William F. X. Geoghan told Governor Lehman today in the hearing of the grand jury's removal charges that he thought it was all right to associate with Frank A. Erickson, the large-scale bookmaker, because Erickson took his bets from Kings County customers from his telephone headquarters in Hoboken, New Jersey, and thus committed no breach of the law in Mr. Geoghan's jurisdiction.—*News dispatch in The New York Times.*

Colonel Knox is a very intelligent man, he continued, and it is not fair to think that he meant what he said.—*Sam T. Chase, of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company, commenting on Colonel Knox's statement that savings-bank deposits and life insurance are not safe, in an interview in The Chicago Daily Times.*

God's most perfect instrument
For carrying out a pure intent
Is man arrayed for mutual slaughter
Aye—carnage is his daughter.—*From Scabbard and Blade, a publication of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps.*

STOPLIGHTS ARE RED TOO, MR. CATO

The State Highway Department wanted to know today who was going to replace all those little red flags which E. Raymond Cato, chief of the state highway patrol, thought were signal markers for Communists in the Salinas lettuce strike.

The flags, it would seem, were placed by the highway workers at the cost of much trouble and labor for a check of Salinas traffic. Patrolmen and Salinas citizens destroyed them.—*Dispatch from Salinas, California, to The Cleveland Press.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic.—THE EDITORS.

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A COMMUNICATION

A Letter to Léon Blum

SIR: Your readers may be interested in an open letter that I have just written to Léon Blum.

New York City. WALDO FRANK.

[ENCLOSURE]

Dear Léon Blum: I presume to address you in this personal form because you are more than the head of a French government, you are more than leader of the People's Front of the French nation: historic circumstance has made you arbiter of the present destiny of Europe, perhaps of us all. To fulfill your role, only a true man can suffice. And it is to the man that I am speaking.

All the world knows just what is happening in Spain. The Spanish people last February by a great majority chose a government of their own—somewhat similar to the one you are now leading. Having created a government of their own, they proceeded by means moderate and legal to create a Spain of their own. And as their program began to take effect, the enemies of the people of Spain, they who hate the people because they exploit them and because their privilege depends on the continued degradation of the people, took arms against the nation. Alone, these reactionaries would have failed, for they had almost a whole nation against them. Even with the trained mercenaries of the army, with the resources of vested property and vested superstition, they would have failed. But there were allies at hand—groups of the same kind, some in power and in possession of their respective countries, dealers in falsehood and blood, manipulators of ignorance and confusion. With the military and economic aid of these enemies of the Spanish people, and of their own peoples, Spain is being invaded, Spain's democracy is being crushed, the world is being forced to stand by day after day while the machines manned by mercenaries and by the lusters after power destroy the naked body of a nation.

Léon Blum, this is no civil war of Spain; this is the conquest of the Spanish people by an armed international class to whom the destruction of life in the defense of property is an everyday routine. This class knows no frontiers. Its henchmen, called Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, the Tories of Great Britain and America, may mouth national slogans, but they are of one brotherhood, they adore one Baal and one Mammon. Was the conquest of Ethiopia a civil war? Plenty of African troops fought with Mussolini against the Negus who to them was a local exploiter less desirable perhaps than the Italian. But who fights against the loyalists in Spain? A military caste traditionally removed from sympathy with the people, a clerical caste trained to submission to the powers-that-be, all the dupes and victims of these castes—in other words the forces, whether in Spain, in Italy, in France or in Britain, who are the sworn enemies of you, your party and your allies.

This is not a civil war in Spain; this is the civil war of Europe. This is a war of attempted conquest, Léon Blum, waged by all the elements you have devoted your life to combat against all the values you hold dear. It is your war, Léon Blum; it is our war.

The fascists of Italy know this. They know that the fascists of Spain are fighting *their* battle of conquest. Therefore they are giving aid to their own kind. And the reactionaries of Japan, the United States, of every nation where money or privilege is in power, by the force of credits and propaganda are helping the men of their own stamp in Spain in order that their machines may prevail against a defense of mere human flesh and blood.

This, Léon Blum, is the war in which you have declared that France must remain neutral.

In all Europe, there are three governments that can claim with validity to represent the interests of the entire people. They are Spain, which is fighting for life; your government, and the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R., far removed from the immediate scene of battle and menaced by the two most aggressive militarist states of the world, Germany and Japan, cannot act alone; cannot act at all without regard to the decision of its sole ally, the French Republic. If the Soviet Union made legal its overwhelming sympathy for the Spanish nation as against your neutrality pact, you, Léon Blum, would fall; the People's Front of France would fall; there would be chaos in France to match Spain's, and perhaps a similar fascist uprising.

What does this mean, Léon Blum? It means that yours is the decision. In all Europe, France alone can act; France by the unified nature of its government and by the immediate threat to it both East and South, must act.

The world knows where your heart lies in this struggle. We know that if you could purchase victory for Spain with your life, you would gladly give your life. We know that what holds you back is the refusal of the British government to join you, is the criminal leadership of English Labor, is—in a word—your fear of war waged against the lives of your people by the united fascists. Yes, that is the superiority of the fascists over men and women of the democracies. The fascists, despising life, readily risk it; despising the lives of others readily mislead and destroy them; whereas at the Left are they who hesitate because they think, because they feel, because they are more wholly human.

But, Léon Blum, it is a true saying: He who hesitates is lost. There is another old saying: He who loses his life shall find it. The words originally had a supernatural meaning. We can give to them a modern, psychological, rational form. We can say: "He who through fear of losing what he values dares not run risks is sure to lose what he values." You fear war if you aid the Spanish people; you fear to alienate Britain; you fear to provoke the enemy who are giving aid to their factions by every means in their power. And your fear is helping the enemy; your fear is making more hopeless the cause of the people not only in Spain but in Germany and Italy, who need encouragement to rise against their executioners. Your fear is making more assured the position of the fascists when at last, made mad by their successes, they choose to unleash their war against you. Your fear—if need be—to risk war now is making war inevitable; and meantime your hesitancy and caution are throwing to the fascists the first battles.

Léon Blum, we who in everything human know ourselves superior to the fascists must equal them in daring and in resolution. Otherwise, our hatred of war and love of humanity will defeat us and deliver the world to the

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war makers. There are times when the best strategy is to get one's eye on the goal and to move toward it. This is the strategy of the fascists, and it has been victorious in Ethiopia, on the Rhine and elsewhere. It is a strategy not every nation is able to pursue. Britain is too divided to pursue it. France has the power, the perspective, the government—and the incentive!—to pursue it.

Already the aid of the fascists to their kind in Spain, while France rigidly and solitarily remains neutral, is demoralizing the masses of all countries. They say to themselves, in England, in France, in Brazil, in the United States: "The fascists help their gangs; we leave our people to be massacred and their cities to be bombed." The masses do not understand that the U.S.S.R. must act with France, must uphold *your* hand, Léon Blum. None of us understands what holds you back. Your "neutrality" is breaking the heart and spirit of the peoples, everywhere, who soon or late must fight *your* battle.

If I have presumed to address this letter to you, Léon Blum, it is because I know that my anguish is that of millions before the tragedy of Spain; and that my expectation of your leadership is that of millions everywhere—not excluding those in Italy and Germany—who cannot act alone, but who are waiting to follow.

We implore you: Recognize the facts in Spain. Recognize that *there is no neutrality* in this irrepressible conflict between the two possible futures of mankind—the way forward to human dignity, the way backward to slavery. Open the frontiers of France for aid to the legitimate government of Spain before it is too late! Help them with food, guns, planes, credit, and above all with the moral force that will be theirs when they know that the French are their comrades. If you do this, at once, you will be doing merely what one legitimate government should do for another; you will be doing merely what the fascists, the world over, are doing for their conspirators in Spain.

If you do less than this, Léon Blum, you are betraying what your country represents, what your People's Front gave you the mandate to perform. You will be betraying mankind.

WALDO FRANK.

CORRESPONDENCE

We Stand Rebuked

SIR: I have just been handed a copy of The New Republic of September 23, and the supplement "Voter's Handbook." In this "handbook" you pretend to give your readers a resumé of the platforms of the various parties, and "biographies" of the candidates. Your "handbook" is a fraud and a deception. It is an unscrupulous and vulgar misrepresentation of the "choice" offered the voters. It is so because you suppress entirely mention of the Marxian Socialist Labor Party, except for five lines wherein you merely mention the fact that John W. Aiken is the Party's presidential candidate—and even here your sloppiness and lack of accuracy are in evidence, since you say that the Party's presidential candidate is "*again* John W. Aiken . . ." The presidential candidate of the Socialist Labor Party in 1932 was Verne L. Reynolds. The Party's vice-presidential candidate in 1932 was John W. Aiken.

You find ample space to give to an exposition of the platforms of all the parties of capitalism, the reform parties of Thomas and Browder included, but not a word about the party of socialism. You find space for the biographies of the capitalist and reform candidates (including the "disciple" of Father Divine, Mr. Ford), but not a word about Mr. Aiken. In short, you have space to devote to all the parties and their candidates who are worrying about how capitalism may be saved, reformed and patched up, or made to work a little longer, but not a word about the *one* party (the Socialist Labor Party) which declares capitalism must be destroyed; the party which says that capitalism cannot be mended (now or later), but that it must be ended!

And you call this a presentation of the choice before the voters! It would be difficult to conceive of a more unscrupulous piece of journalism, of a greater affront to the intelligence of your readers, than this fraudulent "analysis" prepared by you. Nor would it be possible to conceive of a more perfect flowering of intellectual scoundrelism than the fraud perpetrated by your editors who are responsible for this precious "Voter's Handbook."

ARNOLD PETERSEN,
New York City. National Secretary, Socialist Labor Party.

Self-Rule for Industry

SIR: I should like to take this opportunity to reply to the comments by John T. Flynn on my book, "The Commonwealth of Industry, The Separation of Industry and the State" (Harper and Brothers), which appeared in your August 5 issue. Mr. Flynn's review is, I believe, misleading, since he has apparently overlooked certain fundamental aspects of the work and misinterpreted others.

Mr. Flynn begins by attempting to identify my views with Messrs. Hoover, Long, Roosevelt and Johnson, and further on refers to the industrial commonwealth as "the old pet of the Chamber of Commerce and of Mr. Coolidge." But when have the ideas of these gentlemen tallied with each other as far as industrial self-rule is concerned? It seems that Mr. Flynn ignores the fact that I have taken issue with what both Mr. Hoover and the Chamber of Commerce have done in this direction. Mr. Flynn has also overlooked the fact that there are vital differences between the Johnson-sponsored codes and those suggested in my book. The N.R.A., as it worked out, was perhaps least of all things self-government in industry.

Stating that he had no time to discuss details, Mr. Flynn dismisses the doctrine put forth in the book as being both "naïve" and "dangerous," which I believe sums up his "argument" briefly.

As to the "naïveté" of which Mr. Flynn complains, I should like to point out that the plan is the result of actual and far-reaching experience in the field covered by the book, the law firm of which I am a member having worked extensively, for example, with the N.R.A. codes. It was this experience which revealed a number of pitfalls that I have tried to avoid in "The Commonwealth of Industry."

Furthermore, Mr. Flynn misunderstands if he believes that I expect that losses can ever be completely eliminated. I do, however, give facts to substantiate the point that they could have been materially curtailed if our economic processes had been better co-ordinated and more scientifically managed in the public interest—which is the plea of my book.

In any case, Mr. Flynn oversimplifies when he states that my theory is that "our troubles spring chiefly from the abuses of competition and that all would be well if business men could get together and regulate prices, trade practices, production." But I do not deplore merely our competitive evils. The book points out the need for enlightened industrial leadership in other matters as well, and states that before business men would be entitled to get together in a "commonwealth," they would have to accept eventual responsibility for full employment, pay substantial wages, give adequate working conditions, assure the consumer of the lowest prices, etc.

As to the "dangerous" aspects of the plan, anything that savors today of industrial control immediately raises the bugaboo of fascism in some minds, and Mr. Flynn's reasoning follows the same loose line. Mr. Flynn fears that the commonwealth of industry will

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bring a "violent and disastrous end" to the so-called "capitalist system," but is he anxious to retain what is not so much a system as an appallingly wasteful struggle? Our complicated society, on the contrary, requires order if we are to avoid "the end of democracy in America." Does Mr. Flynn assert that that order can best be ordained and regulated by government, when our experience has shown so clearly its failure to appreciate business problems and its tendency to be influenced by political considerations? Mr. Flynn has also failed to notice the checks and balances set up in the book, which would keep the proposed industrial set-up from assuming an autocratic character.

Mr. Flynn misstates when he says that the codes provided in my book would be "what they have always been, statutes, systems of laws governing that economic sector in which the trade operates." For there has never been a code in this country that has actually had the force of law in the sense of having received judicial approval. The suggested codes would carry the force of law only if they served the public interest, and would be "open covenants openly arrived at" not by the steel men alone, for example, but by their workers, their customers, their investors and finally the court. The reviewer also fails to notice that the federal declaratory procedure is put forth in my pages as an alternative procedure and that I state its validity has yet to be proved in practice. But I do suggest procedure in proven ways.

I should also like to call to Mr. Flynn's attention the fact that there were never forty codes—or one code—which were submitted for approval to the federal courts directly or indirectly. Nor did the codes submitted to the Federal Trade Commission meet the standards for serving the public interest set forth in the book. At any rate, the Federal Trade Commission is what he refers to, I believe, and to that body have been submitted more than one hundred codes, codes which mean and have meant little.

Mr. Flynn has, it seems to me, mistaken the point of the book. Like Mr. Flynn, I have no patience with panaceas, and I have not tried to present a full-blown cure-all of our economic ills. Rather, as stated in my preface, "The Commonwealth of Industry" seeks chiefly to point the direction in which I believe we must move if we are to improve our economic status and make headway in the direction of a better life for all. If I am right, this work may serve as a point of departure. If I am wrong, at least it may have stimulated thinking on what is a vital problem today. . . . To sum up, it appears that Mr. Flynn has turned the pages but has not read the book.

New York City. BENJAMIN JAVITS.

[Comment on Mr. Javits' letter, by Mr. Flynn, appears on p. 252. —THE EDITORS.]

The Church in Spain

SIR: Please accept my thanks for Mr. Neville's informing article "Spain: Church Against Republic" [The New Republic, September 16]. It closes a gap in the evidence which our American daily press has left wide open.

The silence of our press in matters such as this is the more curious in that it results from no government edict but is self-imposed; arising from an exaggerated fear of a minority group of citizens which constitutes but a fraction of our reading or advertising public.

Scituate, Mass. TALCOTT MINER BANKS.

For Consumer Organization

SIR: John T. Flynn in the issue of August 26 says: ". . . the consumer is organized. The government is his organization. For who is the consumer? He is nothing else than all the citizens of the state." The implication is that the only hope of the consumer is to get control of his government and run it in his own interest. I say God help the consumer if that is his only hope. The fact is that, while we are all consumers, none of us regards himself as primarily a consumer, or ever will. And the only consumer organization that can give undivided attention to the interests of the consumer is one in which consumers are organized as such. I know of no consumer organization in the country and world today which has achieved so much and offers so much for the future as the Consumers' Coöperative Movement.

Since I started by picking on Mr. Flynn, let me say that I enjoy every word he writes, and I think it entirely right that he should stick to his own line and hew savagely away. But when his path crosses the path of coöperation, let him, in common politeness, give it a nod. All of us liberals and leftists are moving by diverse paths toward a common goal. Quite naturally each thinks his path is the best. But let's keep a friendly eye on what others are doing, and not be so damned parochial.

RICHARD T. HALLOCK.

Chicago, Ill.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Ed Wolcott writes from San Fernando, California his opinion that Hitler, upon one pretext or another, will send sufficient aid to ensure a temporary victory of the fascists in Spain, but he thinks this will bring no real end to the fighting because "we all know this revolution really began five or six or more years ago and we equally well know it will continue until one side is annihilated." . . . Michael Valesko writes us that Premier Léon Blum of France, by making his neutrality proposal, seems to have betrayed the working class of Spain to the fascists, "in characteristic social-democratic style."

A proposal that has been made by various people in the past, and was actually tried out in Liverpool, England, is advanced again by Mrs. F. Webb Nuding, of Palo Alto, California. Mrs. Nuding suggests that circulating libraries of good paintings should be organized, perhaps as producers' and consumers' coöperatives, thus eliminating the considerable expense involved in buying good pictures and also making it possible to change the pictures in one's home occasionally. This would, she thinks, stimulate interest in art, and also give artists a considerably better chance of making a living.

The Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Committee informs us that the deportation case of Domenick Sallitto will be heard in the Circuit Court of Appeals in New York on October 5. Sallitto, who came here legally fifteen years ago, was arrested in Oakland, California, on purely political charges, and if he is returned to Italy he faces punishment there for anti-Fascist activities. Moreover, his four-year-old motherless child will be left homeless.

In October the Midwest Federation of Arts and Professions will bring out the first issue of Midwest, a review that is intended to cover all the cultural activity of the Middle West, its historical origins, new stories, verse and reporting. The editors are Meridel Le Sueur and Dale Kramer, and the address, 812 LaSalle Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

A. Chasan, of Brooklyn, N. Y., agrees with The New Republic that speculations about Hitler's sanity are in order, but he says it is easier to understand how much a man can rule an entire nation when one considers "there is a lot of statemanship and wisdom in the muzzle of a gun." . . . The Book and Magazine Guild sends us a copy of a letter forwarded to the recent convention of the American Bankers' Association protesting against the discharge of Charles Preston, a member of the editorial staff of Banking, the official magazine of the Association, allegedly because of his refusal to submit to "voluntary" fingerprinting.

What's on the Air?

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg. Saturday, October 3, 8:15 to 9 P. M., N.B.C.-WEAF.

John B. Kennedy comments on the results of The Literary Digest Poll. Monday, October 5, and Wednesday, October 7, 7:15 to 7:30 P. M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

Dr. J. P. Warbasse, president of the Coöperative League of the U.S.A. and chairman of the National Union of Consumers' Coöperative Societies, discusses the aims and objectives of the League from its biennial congress at Columbus, Ohio. Thursday, October 8, at 3:30 P. M., C.B.S.

Republican vice-presidential candidate Knox will speak Thursday, October 8, 8:30 to 9 P. M.; President Roosevelt, 9 to 9:30 P. M.; Alfred E. Smith, 9:30 to 10 P. M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

Earl Browder on a program of the Communist Party. Friday, October 9, 10:45 to 11 P. M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

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Reflected Glory

Reflected Glory, by George Kelly. Morosco Theatre, September 21, 1936.

THIS PLAY of Mr. Kelly's, following such pieces as "The Torch-Bearers," "The Show-Off" and "Craig's Wife," reminds us again how much a son of the theatre he is—the theatre taken as a craft, a practised manner of entertaining audiences, a popular art medium that either does not intend to do much thinking or could not if it tried. Its intention is the very sensible one to please and to entertain, which is good Molière doctrine; theatre that cannot woo your attention or draw your response is scarcely theatre at all, however respectable its aim or text. But where the joker comes in is the fact that Molière was Molière, had something to say, and could say it in the theatre medium, say it so entirely created that the whole stands free and complete to itself, like circularity in a wheel. Mr. Kelly, when, as in "Craig's Wife" or "Behold the Bridegroom," he tries quite seriously for thought, does not get it organically into the theatrical vehicle, he grows self-conscious, "cultured," and makes you wish that the theatre would stop trying to behave itself. On the other hand, the theatre in "The Show-Off" completely keeps up with both the humanity and the Americana; it all flourishes as one.

The thoughts, or themes, behind "The Show-Off" may be in themselves familiar enough, or mediocre enough—certainly there is nothing to challenge the average theatre run of mentality. Mediocrity is another description of dead or dying. But these same thoughts taking on shining theatre substance are no more mediocre than the shape, constantly repeated in living embodiments, of man or tree is mediocre. Just how much seriousness with a capital letter Mr. Kelly wishes for "Reflected Glory" would be hard to tell. There are passages that stand out somewhat, as if a more profound comment might be intended. Perhaps now and again he means to put a little passionate emphasis into an analysis of the artist's nature as distinguished from the nature of other people. Whether he did or not is all the same; there is nothing much here but the old theatre clichés, half-burlesque, about the actress: once an actress always an actress, she acts even in real life, et cetera, et cetera. It is likely that even the faint suspicion now and then that a trifle more is about to be implied serves only to detract from the comic, farcical, burlesque, as you choose to take it, completeness. In the story of "Reflected Glory" the pattern of the once-an-actress-always-an-actress theme is interrupted by the fact that the lover tempting away from the stage turns out to be a bigamistic schemer and therefore fairly impossible; only temperamental actress-reaction remains to sustain the familiar theme; and a hint of some future romance with the producer gilds the chains of art's slave.

It would be less lacking in a sense of humor, perhaps, to take the piece sheerly as entertainment, light, farcical or pertinent as the case may be. As such "Reflected Glory" is at times diverting and at times rather overbanal. Curiously enough, considering Mr. Kelly's theatrical expertness, you never have really the sense of there being any theatrical company at all, none of the theatre gregariousness and flitter; there seems to be only the heroine and her gamut. The fact that you never believe for a moment that she is a great or even a notable actress is nothing against the play as realism, since the same is so often true of the actual stage stars, but it does lessen the general brio, even as burlesque. The best moments, to be remembered most laughably, invincible comic truth, are certain homely, short scenes, that, for instance, of the actress and her maid's quarrel about the other maid's name. Mr. Kelly has directed the play, and it is in scenes like these that he is at his best. Nobody in the theatre can touch him at it. He has always worked miracles of cueing and speech rhythms; and you could wish he had written more of these speeches and scenes for the lesser folk of his new play instead of so much chiaroscuro for the heroine. Their are also several places where two or more people are talking at the same time, and we have voice, pitch, rhythm in each person free and distinct, everything interwoven, everything heard, a kind of delicious humorous counterpoint. You have only to know something of stagecraft to know how patient and brilliant is the result he gets.

From the performances I have seen hitherto of Miss Tallulah Bankhead's, and considering her special problems just now as a player, I should say that she fell into good hands when she struck Mr. Kelly. I should not be surprised if Miss Bankhead learned at least one bad lesson from her experience on the London stage, where far too many players are present and personal without acting at all. Her performance in "Reflected Glory" shows much more stage projection, consciously undertaken on the stage, than of old. The variety, however farcical, possible to this role, is good for her, and may teach her to watch her hand for every second's playing.

In general Miss Bankhead is definitely acquiring what has commonly been known as glamor, a quality that for some time now has seemed to be found less and less in theatre and opera. It may be this very touch of glamor in her as much as anything else that makes you wish her performance were more even and fluent, less spasmodic and more steadily projected. The mere association of such terms with her playing, of course, casts upon it a certain starriness.

There may or may not be a question as to whether having made such reservations as to an actor's performance, a critic might not be expected to provide a constructive suggestion or so. On that score I should suggest, for one thing, this: take those several passages in the play where the actress in real life falls to acting ("Oh, stop acting!" her fellow player says to her, the theme being, of course, actress-is-always-acting-on-and-off-stage). What might be done here would be to remember how in all artistic creation something comes into us, in addition to our exact efforts, carrying us along past ourselves, a source of surprise, drive, even power. In acting especially this happens. So that in actual life Miss Bankhead's actress, standing in her doorway and sorry for herself, drops into a bit of acting, is carried along by this emotion conjured up, and before she is through with it, may act herself, or be acted, into genuine tears, from which double state in turn she has to subside again as best she can. As serious comedy, farce or burlesque, the scene gains by this added truth to start from.

STARK YOUNG.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Louis Aragon

A FEW MOMENTS after Louis Aragon came striding into a restaurant on the Kurfürstendamm, I was ready to admit that he was more brilliant than anyone else I had known. It is possible that the scene of our first meeting contributed not a little to my enthusiasm. Berlin West in the autumn of 1922 was peopled with cripples and fairies, with bacon-fatty Polish profiteers, with hungry street girls (half of them Lesbians), with demobilized and demoralized German officers who looked as if they belonged in a hospital rather than a night club. The general atmosphere was that of a frenzied carnival in an asylum for incurables. When Aragon came striding in, with his proud head and his ingratiating white-toothed smile, he looked like a first intruder from the world of living men, like Orpheus in hell.

Yet my first impression of him, though changed in detail, was not at all weakened during the year that followed, when I saw him almost daily. He had an astonishing combination of fancy, of quick, cruel wit and literary erudition. I never heard him enter a conversation without transforming it. But what impressed me most was the consistent point of view revealed even in his jokes. He belonged to that lucky group of Frenchmen who were young enough to have served only during the last year of the War, and thus to have been disillusioned without being physically and morally broken. Some of them had learned to enjoy post-war Europe, even including Berlin West, as a spectacle of "the most admired disorder." It was also a field in which to test their own coolness and strength of will—for each of them had his rigid personal standards, as if to compensate for the anarchy of the world outside. Aragon, for example, was as abstemious in his habits as a Boston divinity student. He would not or could not surrender himself completely to any passion—not even to his love for literature, which was his nearest approach to a religion. Everyone admired his style, even then, but he was a writer of brilliant fragments that seemed to be chipped off from his own personality. They were not the sort of works, complete in themselves, that make one forget the author.

I haven't seen him since leaving France in the summer of 1923, but often I have heard about him from the friends we had in common. He was helping his classmate André Breton to set forth the doctrines of Superrealism. He was in Kharkov, at the Soviet writers' congress; he had married a beautiful Russian. Back in France he was being tried and given a suspended sentence of five years for writing a poem that insulted the French flag. He had quarreled with Breton over politics. He was an editor of Humanité, the French Communist daily. He was helping to organize the intellectual allies of the People's Front and was proving to be as skillful in healing quarrels as he had once been in fighting them to the end. . . . It was a little surprising to think that Aragon, the literary anarchist, had become a disciplined party functionary. It was more surprising, however, to learn that he had written a social and collective novel, "The Bells of Basel."[1] For the social novelist has to be not only the master of his characters but also their humble servant. He has to do what Aragon always refused to do: he has to surrender himself in order to create a work that will have an independent life.

"The Bells of Basel," which Haakon Chevalier has translated into easy-running English, is a novel of the class struggles in France that preceded the Great War. The subject is similar to that which Romains is treating in "Men of Good Will"; there are even characters that seem to be copied from the same living originals. But Aragon is approaching his subject from a different angle, with more emphasis on labor unions and financial intrigues and the social position of women. His story centers round four major characters. There is first of all Diane de Nettencourt, a society whore whose lover belongs to a group of French capitalists plotting to get control of Morocco, even at the cost of another Franco-German war. There is Catherine Simonidze, a lovely Georgian girl whose uncertain working-class sympathies get her involved with the Bonnot gang of anarchists and bank robbers. There is Victor, a leader in the taxi strike that the police are trying to break by allowing Bonnot's gang to commit new crimes and then getting anarchists and strikers confused in the public mind. Finally there is Clara Zetkin, who attends the great Socialist peace congress in Basel and speaks for the mothers of Europe. Just as Diane had represented the rich women of the old order, and Catherine the half-emancipated women who hesitated between the old and the new, so Clara Zetkin represents, to Aragon, "the woman of tomorrow. . . . The equal. The one to whom this whole book points, in whom the social problem of women is solved and left behind. . . . The woman of modern times is born and it is of her that I sing."

Reading the novel I could not help thinking that Aragon as a socialist realist was acting an alien part. Yet he has too much talent not to play any part with high distinction. His story of Diane de Nettencourt is a beautifully cruel picture of the financial world. Catherine Simonidze is convincing both as a symbol and in her own person. The police intrigues around the Bonnot affair are described with a political acumen that no other novelist has surpassed. But gradually we begin to feel that the author is distracting our attention from his own characters. He seems to be angry at their meanness and vacillation. The baldness of his style makes us guess that he is tiring of the taxi strike. Suddenly he breaks off the story and bursts into a splended apostrophe to Clara Zetkin's sea-blue eyes—"those measureless, magnificent eyes, the eyes of the whole working population of Germany, blue and mobile like deep waters crossed by currents."

In those earlier romantic stories of his Aragon had often done something like this: he had swept his puppets into the wings and appeared on the stage in his own person, speaking with that disdainful eloquence for which he is famous. This time he surpasses himself, but uselessly; for his characters this time are more than puppets and we do not like to see them swept aside. We are a little disappointed to find that Aragon in spite of his new life has remained what he was in the beginning: a sharp, engaging writer who has never produced anything cheap or dull, but also a writer whose personality as revealed in his books is more brilliant and coherent than the books themselves.

MALCOLM COWLEY.

[1] The Bells of Basel, by Louis Aragon. Translated by Haakon M. Chevalier. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

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Harold Laski as Moralist

The Rise of Liberalism: The Philosophy of a Business Civilization, by Harold J. Laski. New York: Harper and Brothers. 337 pages. $3.

THIS BOOK, so Harold Laski writes in his preface, is "in some degree a historical background to its predecessor, 'The State in Theory and Practice.' " I wonder whether this is not a case of incorrect realization by an author of the importance of his work. As a historical background to "The State," this history of liberalism, which stops at the door of the nineteenth century, is inadequate; as a work in itself, seen in the perspective of all its predecessors, it is perhaps the ablest and most mature that Laski has written. The combination of scholarship and politics, or rather the coloration of scholarship by politics, is here accomplished with the most experienced touch, so that the scholarly material is unimpeachable, the political accent urbanely subdued, while the partisan intentions are carried out by the architecture of the whole work rather than by some eloquent pages.

The bulk of "The Rise of Liberalism" is a history of English political thought from the Puritan Revolution to Burke, with some reference to the French doctrine of the same period. In this field Laski has been working since the time of his earlier writings: in most of the well rounded sentences of this book one can feel the polished clarity and the fullness of content that come from repeated meditations on the same subjects. Sometimes it happens that the reading of the same academic courses throughout the years is taken by a lecturer as a chance to widen his learning and to clarify his thought; this book, obviously originating in the classrooms, in a sense all spoken, all alive and never phonographic, is a compliment paid to the teaching craft by one of its best members. This history of English political thought from the end of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century can also be considered as a study in the pre-history of liberalism, because of the leading role that English thought had in the elaboration of the political ideas which swept the world from the American and French Revolutions to the World War. But when we read at the end of the book a chapter called "The Aftermath," dealing with the most debated problems of our days, with Hitler and the Schechter case, and the Roosevelt experiment, we reach the conclusion that Laski in the skillful composition of his book purposely focused his lights on the infancy and on the decay of liberalism.

The reason why Laski jumps across the whole nineteenth century lies, if I am not mistaken, in the political thesis that he scatters in several spots of his historical description. The freedom that liberalism sought, he thinks, "had no title to universality, since its practice was limited to men who had property to defend." This statement is especially applicable to the development that England went through between the English and the French Revolutions, when the attempt to translate liberalism into democratic terms had yet to be started. In that time, Laski asserts, the need for that security of business which is essential to the capitalistic mode of production prompted all the political and religious freedoms. The middle class became tolerant when it realized that the clash of factions and sects was endangering its business. The middle class of our days, he implies at the end of the book, is quite willing to reverse the process and to give up tolerance and freedom for the protection of its business. This is the main thesis of the book developed through an able projection of well arranged historical pictures.

In bringing Marxist criteria into the analysis of liberalism, Laski assumes that the bourgeois capitalistic tradition has to be abandoned; but in his pages there is no hint of certainty that it will be abandoned, crushed under the pressure of political and economic forces now at work in the world. He links liberalism to the middle class and the middle class to the profit motive. But even granting everything that he assumes and reprobing everything that he reprobes, where is the judge who will pronounce the definite condemnation against the profit motive, and the executioner who will carry out the condemnation? What gives so much pathos to many of Laski's pages is the accent of moral indignation; a belief in certain natural moral laws that ought to eradicate the profit-seeking instinct of man. It has been the special aptitude of English political thought to discover the utilitarian economic background of human actions; so much so that personal utility came to be considered as a plain equivalent of moral justification. Laski, deeply English in the structure of his thought, reverses the process, scourges with reprobation the genius of the middle class in seeking peace for the benefit of its business, and considers the profit motive a moral crime that deserves condemnation in the trial of past phases of history.

All in all I think that there is a considerable incorrectness in what many people—including myself—have called the progressive moving of Harold Laski more and more to the left. Laski's early political philosophy was the offspring of a pessimistic lyrical conception of life which has been reasserted in each one of his theoretical works up to "The Grammar of Politics": a vision of man as hopelessly alone, inescapably closed in himself, therefore to be protected in his solitude against the pressure of political organization. In the progress of his intellectual experience the lyricist is turning into a moralist: a moralist who transforms Marxism from an ironclad dynamics of society into a doctrine of natural law and of ethical reprobation. MAX ASCOLI.

A Story-Teller's Novel

Catalogue, by George Milburn. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

THE CURRENT issue of the Sears, Roebuck mail-order catalogue (Fall and Winter, 1937, Golden Jubilee Number) weighs over two pounds. It contains 876 pages that picture and describe more than 50,000 items: from ABC blocks to Zinc Sulphate. Along with the Bible, it—or the more-or-less similar Montgomery Ward catalogue—is to be found in millions of rural American homes. In very remote communities, it is the only point of contact with the outside world: a "wishing bible" of hope and enthralment, thumbed until its pages are ragged and torn. The day the new catalogue arrives is one of the most exciting of all the year, just as exciting as Christmas, and then the old one, its term of service not yet over, is taken to the outhouse.

It was inevitable that a novel written about these catalogues should some day be attempted. They offer a novelist exciting possibilities—opening, like a clumsy skeleton key, many different doors and enabling him (if this is his problem) to integrate the scattered life of a community into an organized, well knit whole. This, in a general way, is what Mr. George Milburn's first novel sets out to do. Beginning with the arrival of the latest catalogues in a little Oklahoma town, it tells what leads up to, and what follows, the purchase of some twenty-five different articles

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by as many different people: the cumulative effect of which is intended to serve as a life-size portrait of the town.

"Catalogue," however, falls short of its most excellent intentions. It contains a number of interesting episodes, and a few very funny ones, but as a novel, coming from a writer of Mr. Milburn's talent, it is extremely disappointing. It suffers, most of all, from an excess of ingenuity. Mr. Milburn knows too many literary tricks. Everything is made to work out as neatly as a problem in geometry: the book might have ended with a Q.E.D. As a result, it seems forced and manufactured. Mr. Milburn creates a number of believable, if singularly unpleasant, characters, but then he makes them dance too much to his own tune, whether they want to or not—and on a thread of narrative so thin that it is constantly snapping in two.

I have great respect for Mr. Milburn as a writer, some of his short stories are among the best of our time, and I feel that "Catalogue" would have been a better book if its author had worked its substance into the form with which he is more familiar. In the autumn, 1935, issue of The Southern Review, Mr. Milburn published some of the episodes contained in "Catalogue" as a short story. It was an admirable story, done with skill and distinction, and "Catalogue" is full of material that would make others just as good. It is our loss that Mr. Milburn decided not to write them.

HAMILTON BASSO.

Science in the U.S.S.R.

Soviet Science, by J. G. Crowther. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 352 pages. $4.

THOSE who are interested in the organization and operational concepts of science and scientists in the Soviet Union will find here much to interest them. Mr. Crowther has been particularly interested in the physical sciences, both theoretical and applied, and devotes two-thirds of his space to these activities. Biology and medicine are given a very brief and inadequate treatment.

This is the first statement to appear about the influence of dialectic materialism and long-time planning on research activity. However, the author fails to show the really great influence that dialectics have on setting up a problem for research in the Soviet Union, and in the type of logic and reasoning used in drawing conclusions and generalizations from the results of the experiments.

The organization of research is centralized in the Academy of Sciences. The greatest research centers are in special institutes and not usually directly associated with a university. The State Planning Commission attempts to orient the general program of research in these institutes to meet the very real practical needs of the State. This involves only an indication of the trends and aims to be achieved, and usually is not specific direction. The system allows adequate freedom for the pursuit of ideas of remote applicability or of purely theoretical interest. The author should have indicated the tremendous power wielded by the members of the Academy of Science in their capacity as advisers, directors and budget-makers for research. In no other country of the world has a scientist, in his capacity as a scientist, exerted so much influence on the life of a people as the Soviet academician. It is also important to state that many of these leaders, and some of the most influential, are not party members. Mr. Crowther gives occasional glimpses of the social and personal life of members of the research staff, and points out that here too positions of authority are not restricted to members of the Communist Party. In one typical institute cited, of the forty-seven qualified scientists, four are full members of the Communist Party and of twenty-three research students seven are Communists.

Every member of the research staff must understand the general reasons and plans for the research program, and has a voice in the plan. When one works as a member of a group, with a specific goal to be attained, a definite sense of personal responsibility for the success of the entire program is felt. The research group often assumes responsibility for a task of landscape gardening at the institute, or for training a neighboring group in the aims and ideology of science. The professional, social, political and recreational life of the worker is in this institute.

One could wish that the author had given a more integrated survey of the aims and accomplishments of science in the U.S.S.R. Too much space is wasted in listing the specific details of research, which mars the style and continuity of the thesis. From this book one gains the impression of the tremendous activity and cohesiveness of the worker in building a socialist state. But in spite of its interest, a satisfactory story of science in the Soviet Union remains to be written.

EARL T. ENGLE.

Bryan with a Halo

William Jennings Bryan, by Wayne C. Williams. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 513 pages. $4.

THIS IS so entirely the wrong kind of book to write about a figure as important as William Jennings Bryan that it is difficult not to overstress its defects. Convinced with reason that his hero has not been clearly seen by most conventional thinkers and writers, and was terribly misjudged by his contemporaries, Mr. Williams has tried to redress the balance by a fatuous kind of hero-worship. It is not so much because the book is ill written that it fails to come off as that Mr. Williams has not risen above his subject. He does not see him in perspective. Everything Bryan did is right. The result is that instead of giving the world a clearer picture of the real Bryan, Mr. Williams has written a monumental book not likely to please anyone except those true communicants who are now living out their lives in the great American hinterland.

But it still remains true that Bryan was one of the really great statesmen of his generation. It must be recalled (and often, for it is always being forgotten) that much of the reformist legislation of this country, especially that which aimed to improve the condition of the common man, either stemmed from Bryan or enlisted his fervent and powerful support. Today, long after the event, it is clear that he alone among Woodrow Wilson's official family made an approach to statesmanship with regard to the World War. He alone really grasped the issues of American neutrality; and he alone argued for a position which would, in some measure, have slowed down the tempo of events that led so ineluctably to America's participation in the World War. He lost on so many specific issues, and gave ground ill advisedly (and, according to late information, secretly) on so many others, that eventually he could not square his general position with the specific position to which the logic of events had brought his chief. He resigned his office. To have presented the true Bryan in a frame of critical reference would have been a public service. The present attempt at rescuing the man has failed.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN.

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CAPRETAX BULLETIN

(CAPITAL-RELIEF-TAX)

Increasing Frequency of Depressions

Industrial depressions were not frequent in the United States while frontier land was cheap and the volume of taxation was light. But as the tax burden became heavier, and all unused land on the frontier and elsewhere was taken up into speculative holdings, grave economic changes occurred.

Self-Bankruptcy of System

Under the new conditions, which came to prevail, widespread bankruptcy is frequent and automatic. The most outstanding element in this picture is "frozen paper" based on inflated ground values. Ground rents and the purchase cost of land are a mounting charge on industry as a whole; and until these costs are deflated, no revival of business takes place. But renewed industrial activity leads to re-inflation of ground values in city and country, followed by a new deflation.

Vanishing Frontiers of America and Britain

Seven million (7,000,000) acres of unused land in Britain were "appropriated" by the aristocracy, through Parliamentary Acts, between 1700 and 1850. In the meanwhile, British ground rents increased one thousand (1000) per cent.

A like process took place in the United States, where western frontier territory and all unused land in the nation was absorbed into speculative holdings by the beginning of the present century (1900).

Labor, Capital Exploited

Wholesale grabbing of land by the British aristocracy drove small farmers and field hands off the soil into the industrial towns, where the resulting over-supply of labor led to competition for work, thus holding wages down.

British capital, in city and country alike, had to pay ground rent and taxes prior to wages; and under these conditions, the purchasing power of the masses remained below the point where British labor could buy the equivalent of its toil and keep British industry in motion. Hence, as ground monopoly solidified, and the tax burden became heavier, British capital entered upon active search for outside markets.

Economic Problem and Marxism

The "Communist Manifesto" of Karl Marx appeared in 1848; and his volume "Capital," written in London, was published in 1867. British industry was now completely gripped in the economic vise of ground monopoly and taxation.

The chief dogma of Marx was that Labor is exploited through private ownership of productive capital; and the main plank in his platform was the well known demand for public, or collective, or common ownership of "the machinery of production and distribution."

A correlative Marxian dogma was that the modern Parliamentary State represents the triumph of the capitalistic class, the "bourgeosie," over the landed nobility.

Ground Monopoly Seen Too Late by Marx

Stimulated by the "Communist Manifesto" and the first edition of "Capital," the socialist-communist movement rapidly acquired form and momentum on the basis of the dogmas mentioned above.

But in the meanwhile the author of "Capital" continued to investigate economic problems; and after his death, a new edition of "Capital" was published, with appended matter left by Marx under the significant heading *"The Expropriation by which the Country Folk were Divorced from the Land."*

This new section about land monopoly, however, was put into the book too late to become an organic part of "Capital." And, in fact, Marx never understood the double pressure exerted upon productive industry by ground rent and the fiscal power of the State. His posthumous emphasis upon land grabbing, therefore, has never caught up with his early dogma about the monopoly of capital.

Modern State a Compromise Between Land and Capital

The standard pattern of the modern legislative State originated in Britain during the period when land-grabbing reached its climax (1700-1850). The ground lords reluctantly admitted the bourgeoisie to parliamentary power on condition that the mounting fiscal burdens of England and Scotland be laid upon capital and its products, instead of upon the value of land in city and country. *The exempted rental values therefore became an increasing liability upon industry, over and above taxes.*

Hence, the modern parliamentary State does not represent the victory of the bourgeoisie over the landed nobility, as Marx claimed. But on the contrary, the modern State is a compromise between the social prestige of Land and the economic energy of Capital.

Confusion and Readjustment

Today's confusion will persist as long as the world-wide economic issue is pictured as a mere conflict between "Labor and Capital," or between "Communism and Fascism."

But the stream of current history is gradually shifting its course. Marxist elements find themselves under constraint, for the time being, to act with bourgeois progressives against the menace of complete reaction. And in the meanwhile the compromise between Land and Capital, which, in Britain, paved the way toward the modern parliamentary State, is in process of reversal: The British constitution is amended so as to abolish the tax-veto of the House of Lords (the citadel of ground monopoly), thus concentrating governmental power in the House of Commons; and it is only the presence of a "rentier" majority in the Commons that prevents, for the time being, the inevitable transfer of tax burdens from productive capital to ground values, improved and vacant, in city and country. The tax issue, now looming throughout the world, is not simply a revenue question; it is the problem of the fiscal power of the State as an instrument of social change.

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Outline of Criminology

Crime and Justice, by Sheldon Glueck. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 355 pages. $3.

> What have we better than a blind guess that the criminal law in its present form does more good than harm? I do not stop to refer to the effect which it has had in degrading prisoners and in plunging them further into crime, or the question whether fine and imprisonment do not fall more heavily on a criminal's wife and children than on himself. I have in mind more far-reaching questions. Does punishment deter? Do we deal with criminals on proper principles?

PERHAPS astonishingly, the four decades since Mr. Justice Holmes phrased the above questions have taken nothing from the aptness with which Sheldon Glueck now quotes them as the theme of his latest book. Criminal justice continues, defiant of efforts at reform, our matchless exhibit of institutional pathology. Those who have studied its ugly workings at first hand, as this Harvard professor notably among college criminologists has done, are saying much the same things about it that were said at the century's turn, except that they no longer say them with question marks. For the evidence has piled up, an impressive series of studies, surveys and exposures by various commissions and committees and foundations; all the ingrained abuses that cluster about the daily functioning of the police and jails and bail systems and judges and prosecutors and defense attorneys and juries and prisons and parole boards and penal laws and venal legislators now are matters of common knowledge. The criminologist today can only restate, hoping that something will be done about it; but when anything is done, it is likely to be as contradictory as were Governor Lehman's sixty legislative proposals of recent memory, of which forty-five were designed to send offenders more swiftly and certainly to prison, while the other fifteen were directed toward more dispatch and ease in getting them out. So the futile, self-frustrating machinery slats on, while the public pays a terrific money cost, gets inadequate protection for its safety and often has its liberties jeopardized to boot.

Professor Glueck now performs the service of summing up the entire diagnosis under a clever outline in an excellent book for the general reader. Each concise paragraph is annotated thoroughly with reference to the proper survey or report, and he has a genius for quoting the best sentences of those reports. His style, further, is objective and almost genial; when he uses the word "cesspool" he makes it seem a statement of plain fact. We have here what I think is the best single-volume picture of the whole sick set-up.

Not only this, but we get at least some placement of crime and its control-mechanism against the background of social and economic life. This is something the surveys tend to neglect. It is extremely interesting, and for my own part I wish it had been more searchingly done. Perhaps it is too much to ask of a first-class criminologist that he should be a first-class economist as well; still, a man capable, for instance, of quoting Eddington on indeterminism as a critique upon the law's "unsophisticated theory of freedom of will," would seem also capable of going somewhat farther beyond the trite and apparent economic relationships of his topic than Professor Glueck has done. The tinkering type of remedies proposed in his final chapters seem puny beside the terrific diagnosis of ills, yet he modestly says: "It is not the function of the criminologist to explore new byways to Utopia."

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Why not? Really our better criminologists and our more forward-looking economists ought to get together, trade data and recognize their common cause. The former must know in their hearts that this sadistic cluster of legalized rackets called criminal justice cannot be merely patched up while economic pressures remain; and the latter are missing some startling material for their picture of breakdown when they fail to study modern crime and the perversion of the system intended to control it as an intrinsic feature of current economic life. ERNEST JEROME HOPKINS.

Books in Brief

Midnight, by Julian Green. New York: Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

JULIAN GREEN'S latest caricature is a tale somewhat on the pattern of Beauty and the Beast, though not so well constructed. In the first half of the book Beauty, or Elizabeth, is shown having an unhappy childhood, in which all adults walk too fast for her to keep up with them, where rooms are always half plunged in darkness—with a stuffed bird looming in the far corner—and where all women have twitching nostrils and hairs on their chins. In the second half she finds herself in a run-down mansion filled with freaks and lorded over by a mystical maniac. Eventually she jumps out a window and we assume that she died of it: at any rate "she felt herself lifted from the earth by an irresistible force." The net result is to make one less frightened of the dark than sorry for the author, with his desperate efforts to perpetuate the bogey-man, by means of flickering candles and long black beards; his insistence, like that of a disagreeable child, that everything he describes is "weird and sordid"; and his sense of reality as summed up in the following: "They wanted to make a lady of her, but she was really a child of the people crying softly for sadness and for love in the December twilight." E. C.

Noah Pandre, by Salman Schnéour. Translated by Joseph Leftwich. New York: Lee Furman. $2.50.

This, the first of Schnéour's works to be translated into English, deals with the life of Jewish peasants and Jewish artisans in a small town in Tsarist Russia. The book treats the tragedies and limitations of this life with tenderness and understanding, but it also celebrates its fulfilments with magnificent heartiness and humor. Noah Pandre, the hero, is a Jewish butcher boy of prodigious strength and appetites and mildly picaresque tendencies who forsakes butchering to become a coachman. He marries his master's daughter, settles down and presently achieves the same eminence in feats of driving and the understanding care of horses he had previously had in slaughtering and amorous adventures. His rise is interrupted by a quarrel with a drunken police official and a year in prison, from which he emerges still an unshorn Samson in the eyes of his townspeople. But the story of Noah Pandre is much more than this. It is the story of a Chassidic Jewish community. Schnéour writes of this community affectionately, candidly and convincingly without a trace of chauvinism or defensiveness. M. G.

Down Come the Trees, by Anthony Thorne. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

The scene of this book is a Yugoslavian town, but not a town with the historic background and beauty of Split or Dubrovnik. The author has created for himself a Dalmatian

By JOHN B. HOLT

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Stars and Telescopes, by James Stokley, with a preface by Dr. Walter S. Adams. New York: Harper and Brothers. 332 pages, plates. $3.

Mr. Stokley is the very able associate director in charge of the Fels Planetarium of the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia. This qualifies him to make astronomy a fascinating subject for the layman. Of particular value are the chapters dealing with telescopes, their history, development, construction and operation. Here the reader learns something of the close dependence upon technology and engineering (as expressed in instruments of precision) of one of the most abstract and mathematical of the "pure" sciences. A set of exceptionally fine astronomical photographs is another feature, and the beginner will be thankful for the four seasonal star maps and a glossary of technical terms. H. W.

Contributors

LOUIS KRONENBERGER has contributed critical articles and reviews to many literary publications. He edited "An Anthology of Light Verse," which is now one of the titles in the Modern Library, and "An Eighteenth Century Miscellany," recently published by G. P. Putnam.

CHARLES A. BEARD is familiar to readers of The New Republic for his numerous books and articles on history, economics and politics, particularly in the field of American history.

WALDO FRANK'S many volumes of fiction, criticism, philosophy and travel have been widely read and translated. His most recent book was a novel, "The Death and Birth of David Markand," published by Scribners.

MAX ASCOLI, formerly professor of Jurisprudence in various Italian universities, is now a member of the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York City. His "Intelligence in Politics" is to be published in October by Norton.

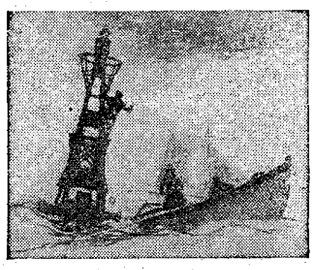
HAMILTON BASSO'S new novel, "Courthouse Square," will be published this fall by Scribners.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN is at present working on a socio-economic study of war in the contemporary world. His books include "Why We Fought," a study of America's entry into the World War.

EARLE T. ENGLE is a specialist in endocrinology at the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons. He has helped to organize research work in the Soviet Union.

ERNEST JEROME HOPKINS, the author of "Our Lawless Police" and "What Happened in the Mooney Case," was for many years a journalist in San Francisco.

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Eleanor Clark, Martha Gruening, Richard Vaughan and Harold Ward.



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